This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

MEMOIRS

OF THE

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

IN

HUNGARY.

LONDON:
REED AND PARDON, PRINTERS,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

KLAPKA.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

IN

HUNGARY.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

IN

HUNGARY.

BY

GENERAL KLAPKA,

LATE SECRETARY-AT-WAR TO THE HUNGARIAN COMMONWEALTH, AND COMMANDANT OF THE FORTRESS OF KOMORN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT BY

OTTO WENCKSTERN.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

CHARLES GILPIN, 5, BISHOPSGATE WITHOUT.

EDINBURGH: ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK.

DUBLIN: J. B. GILPIN.

1850.

Thomas Gregg.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

AUGUST.

PAGE

Görgey's Letter from Geszthely—Sally on the 3rd August—The Enemy's Defeat on the Left Bank of the Danube—Their Retreat into the Shütt—Their further Retreat to Pressburg—Trophies and Booty—Occupation of Raab—Sentiments of its Inhabitants—Levies of Troops—An intended Invasion into Styria—A Sudden Turn of Fortune—Bad News from Görgey's Army—Retreat to Komorn—The first Austrian Flag of Truce—Kossuth's Address to the Nation—A Russian Negotiator—An Armistice . 1

CHAPTER II.

SEPTEMBER.

Görgey's Letter from Great Warasdin—Negotiations—Return of the Two Deputations—The Fortress offers to Capitulate—Haynau's Summons—Expiration of the Armistice—Commencement of Hostilities—Fall of Peterwarasdin—Nugent— Trickery of the Besiegers — Executions—

PAGE

Fresh Negotiations—Another Capitulation offered—Letter to the Emperor—Colonel Hartmann—A Grand Council of War—Haynau at Komorn—The Capitulation 39

CHAPTER III.

OCTOBER.

Surrender of the Fortress—The Wurtemberg Hussars—An Accident—General Haynau—Farewell to the Garrison—Return of the Soldiers—Klapka leaves Komorn for Pressburg 85

CHAPTER V.

OCTOBER.

Austrian Courts-Martial in Hungary—Louis Batthyányi—Ernest Kiss—Louis Aulich—John Damjanitsh—Joseph Nagy-Sándor—Ignatz Török—George Lahner—Charles Vecsey—Charles Knezich—Ernest Pöltenberg—Charles Leiningen-Westerburg—Joseph Schweidel—Aristides Desewffy—Andreas Gáspár 100

CHAPTER VI.

The Hungarian Army 163

APPENDIX.

I.

The Bulla Aurea 203

PAGE

II.

Character of Francis II. 206

III.

The Commissions of 1823 209

IV.

The Rights and Grievances of Hungary 224

V.

The Servian and Croatian Insurrections—

1. Imperial Manifesto announcing to the Croatians and Sclavonians that the Ban, Baron Joseph Jellachich, is suspended from all his dignities and offices 227

2. Royal Speech read by Archduke Stephen, Palatine and Royal Lieutenant of Hungary, in the name of the Emperor Ferdinand, King of Hungary, at the Opening of the Hungarian Parliament, July 8, 1848 237

3. Manifesto appointing Baron Joseph Jellachich Royal Lieutenant and Civil and Military Commissioner of Hungary 241

VI.

Louis Kossuth's Speech on the 11th July 246

VII.

The Capitulation of Komorn 274

VIII.

The Decree of the 14th of April, 1849—

1. Sanctio Pragmatica 279
2. Declaration relative to the Separation of Hungary from Austria 287

PAGE

IX.

The Murder of Count Batthyányi 317

X.

The "Neugebæude" 325

XI.

Flogging of Women 329

XII.

Prince Wittgenstein's Despatch 331

XIII.

The Hungarian Commonwealth 335

XIV.

Abolition of Feudal Burdens in Hungary 336

CHAPTER I.

AUGUST.

GÖRGEY'S LETTER FROM GESZTHELY—SALLY ON THE 3RD AUGUST —THE ENEMY'S DEFEAT ON THE LEFT BANK OF THE DANUBE —THEIR RETREAT INTO THE SHÜTT—THEIR FURTHER RETREAT TO PRESSBURG—TROPHIES AND BOOTY—OCCUPATION OF RAAB—SENTIMENTS OF ITS INHABITANTS—LEVIES OF TROOPS—AN INTENDED INVASION INTO STYRIA—A SUDDEN TURN OF FORTUNE—BAD NEWS FROM GÖRGEY'S ARMY—RETREAT TO KOMORN—THE FIRST AUSTRIAN FLAG OF TRUCE —KOSSUTH'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION—A RUSSIAN NEGOTIATOR—AN ARMISTICE.

On the 1st of August, I received a letter from Görgey. He had reached the Theiss. His letter shows that he had again recurred to the possibility of saving Hungary; and consequently that, at an earlier period of the war, he had indeed despaired of its results.

His letter, which is dated from his headquarters at Geszthely (25th July, 1849), is to the following purpose:—

"I did not reply to your last letter of the 18th instant, because I was uncertain of my fate, and of that of my corps, and because I had no authentic information of the movements of the other Hungarian armies.

"At present my army stand pretty much on a level with our other forces; and I therefore take it to be my duty to inform you of the state of affairs in the Hungarian army in general, and of the adventures of my own corps in particular.

"On the afternoon of the 15th of July, our vanguard arrived at Waitzen, and engaged the Russian troops under General Rüdiger. The result of that engagement was in so far favorable to us, that we maintained our position not only throughout the day, but also during the night. On the following morning, my two corps had come up and supported the vanguard in a general attack upon the Russian troops. But I became convinced that the enemy too had, in the course of the night, received considerable reinforcements from Gödöllö and Pesth, and that their artillery force especially was by far superior to the forces I could dispose of. This conviction, and a careful review of our strength, caused me (in the interest of my country) to resign all thoughts of breaking the Russian lines at Waitzen, and to proceed on a safe road—viz. to Losontz, Putnok, and Miskoltz. My plan was to effect, as speedily and

efficiently as possible, a junction with the rest of our forces.

"This junction has been effected in spite of the Russian troops, which pursued us from Waitzen. General Knezich, whose positions extend from Tisza Füred to Tokaj, is prepared for our reception. The enemy are now at Harsány. If they should dare to attack our position behind the Hernat, General Knezich will bring his forces to bear on the line from Ratká to Lök. The rest of the Hungarian armies lean in the line from Tisza Füred to Szegedin. The enemy's plan, to cut off our retreat from the ground behind the Theiss, and from the other corps, has consequently been foiled by the movements of the latter. Our future successes are likely to bear a striking similarity to the past. The military forces of the country will have time to assemble in our rear, to organise themselves, and to join the army.

"If you, general, will consider these facts, and if you think of the last few weeks, you will understand what part the fortress of Komorn ought to play in the next act of our revolutionary drama, and what duties fall on you, as the Commander of that unconquerable bulwark.

"ARTHUR GÖRGEY."

I was confident in my hopes that Kossuth

would, at this juncture, repair to the army, to reanimate the confidence of the troops by the charm of his appearance and the magic power of his words. At a later period it appeared that such was his intention, but that the near approach of the enemy's flying detachments and patrols prevented its execution, and compelled him to return to Arad.

The upper army remained thus deprived of his influence, and a prey to the *whims* of Görgey and his *indolent staff*.

The authentic news which I received at that time of General Haynau's march, from Pesth, upon Szegedin, and some intercepted letters of the Russian general Berg (then attached to the Austrian head-quarters) to the Czar Nicholas, confirmed me in my resolution to make a decisive attack upon the besieging army, and by this diversion to support the manœuvres of our southern army.

On the evening of the 2nd, I issued the following instructions :—

"Colonel Assermann will take two columns of twelve companies and six field-pieces each; the columns to be severally commanded by Rakowszky and Brunszwick. He will leave the entrenched camp at twelve o'clock at night, advance by way

of O-Szöny, to Almás. After capturing the enemy's posts in that place, he will proceed on by-paths to Tömörd, where he will halt, until he can have news from Mocsa, and until he is certain that our troops are in possession of that place. When once satisfied on that point, he will continue his march to Igmand, and from that place—continually moving in the rear of the besieging army—he will proceed to Atsh and Lovad. He will do all in his power to gain the heights in front of that place, before the enemy can reach them, and by these means to cut off their retreat across the Danube.

"The Colonels Kosztolanyi and Krivatsi, with two columns of equal strength with those under Colonel Assermann, will advance upon Mocsa at seven o'clock, A.M. They will storm that place, establish a communication with Colonel Assermann, and they will make an attack upon and carry Csém. Afterwards—having effected a junction with the division of Colonel Schulz, they will carry the entrenchments of Puszta-Herkály, and Atsh forest, and they will drive the Austrians into the Danube, or upon Kosztolanyi's column in their rear.

"Colonel Schulz, with eight companies, two escadrons, and eight guns, will advance on the Igmand road towards Puszta-Herkály, where he

engages the enemy until our troops, having taken Csém, have come to be in a line with him, when he will support them in storming the entrenchments of Herkály and Atsh forest.

"Colonel Janik, with sixteen companies, one escadron, and two howitzer batteries, makes a diversion against the front of the Atsh forest entrenchments; but he will not proceed to a real assault until Csém and Herkály have been taken, and the enemy's wing outflanked by our troops.

"The garrison remaining in the entrenched camp consists of two companies of each battalion."

The attack was executed in the spirit of these instructions:—

At midnight, Assermann mustered his men at O-Szöny. He marched upon Almás, and surprised the enemy's forces in that place (three companies, one escadron, and three field-pieces). After an obstinate defence on the part of the Austrians, he carried Almás at the point of the bayonet, and allowed the enemy (their retreat being covered) to fall back in the direction of Gran.

At nine o'clock, A.M., Colonel Assermann stood on the heights of Tömörd, where his corps effected a junction with Kosztolanyi.

Kosztolanyi's and Krivatsi's columns, protected by the heights before them, had meanwhile ad-

vanced to Mocsa, where they found three companies of the Austrian regiment Baumgarten, who, after a short resistance, surrendered. In further execution of my orders, Kostolanyi took up a position on the hill near Igmand, until Assermann's troops came up and occupied that place, when, forming a double battle-line with the cavalry on either wing, they pursued their march upon Csém.

This place was but indifferently entrenched, and the consequence was, that the enemy left it before our attack came off. At three o'clock, P.M., Csém was occupied by our troops. Our storming columns were all united, and Assermann's division had advanced in the enemy's rear. Assermann's cautious character and the habitual slowness of his movements gave me some uneasiness. If he made an expeditious advance, there could be no doubt but that we should succeed in capturing all the Austrian troops on the right bank of the Danube.

I would not and could not wait long, for the enemy, who concentrated their forces at Puszta-Herkály, and who, though occupied by our troops under Schulz and Janik, would at length understand the object of our movements, when, being informed of Assermann's manœuvres in their rear, they would hasten to commence their retreat, without waiting for my attack.

Without therefore taking any more notice of Assermann's march, I gave the signal to attack the enemy.

Our batteries advanced and were received with a well-directed fire from the entrenchments, which, owing to the circumstance that the enemy's guns were heavier than ours, occasioned a severe loss and some confusion in our ranks. Finding that to delay was to risk our success, I ordered my storming columns forward, while I sent instructions to Schulz to attack the entrenchments *en face*. His execution of my order was truly heroic: he and his handful of men secured us the honors of the day. Forming in a battle-line, with artillery and horse on either wing, preceded by only a weak line of *tirailleurs* and cheering "*Eljen á Magyar!*" he led his troops through a fearful fire of grape and musketry to the very parapet of the enemy's works. His boldness startled the Austrians, who feared, from the side attack of our other troops, that their position was on the point of being surrounded. They turned and fled upon Atsh.

Victory was ours!

Herkály was the most elevated point of the blockading line. We posted our artillery on its heights, and hurled death and destruction among the fugitives. Atsh forest too was taken. The Austrians fled to Lovad. Our batteries followed

at their heels, stopping and firing every now and then, wherever the nature of the ground seemed to favor their intervention. Our hussars and honveds clung to the heels of the flying army, and the field was covered with the dead and the wounded, with swords and muskets, guns and ammunition-cars. Large crowds of prisoners and troops were brought in from all sides.

The Austrians made a last desperate attempt to stand at bay. They rallied some troops at Atsh, but after a short engagement they were dislodged by our infantry. Nothing was left to them but to seek their safety across the Danube. As Colonel Assermann's vanguard had not yet reached the heights of Lovad, the enemy were at liberty to cross the river—though at considerable sacrifice. At the moment when the last Austrian column was crossing the bridge, Colonel Assermann's artillery opened upon them. If that officer had but arrived half-an-hour earlier, it would be my good fortune to record a great feat, and one unheard of in the history of military operations,—of a blockading force surrounded and captured by the garrison of the fortress, which they were in the act of besieging.

Night had set in. A few shots were still firing across the Danube. Lovad bridge was burning: its flames on either bank threw their glare on the bloody traces of a day which stands prominent

and glorious in the history of Hungary. I sent my exhausted troops into bivouac at Atsh. Patrols were sent out and posts stationed round our quarters; and, in spite of the skirmishing on the Danube—in spite of the groaning of the wounded and dying, and the drizzling rain which continued all night, my troops settled down in a firm and sound sleep.

At four o'clock on the following morning, the Austrians evacuated their entrenchments at the Lél, and by so doing, they saved me the trouble of an attack on the Shütt island. Even the Austrian reports admit that their retreat to Pressburg was far from being orderly.

Their forces on the right bank amounted on that eventful day to 6000 foot and horse, and twenty pieces of artillery, while the troops which we brought into the field (including Assermann's corps) numbered 10,000 foot, with thirty-six guns and eight escadrons. The Austrians lost 1000 of their people in killed and wounded; and another 1000, with 48 officers, were captured by my soldiers.

The number of trophies and the booty were very great. Twelve field-pieces were taken on the field of battle. Eighteen 18-pounder carronades were left behind in the *tête-de-pont* at Lél. 3000 muskets, large stores of ammunition and gunpowder, quantities of baggage and pro-

visions, and 2000 head of cattle, fell into our hands. But the great point of congratulation was, that this victory of ours broke the Austrian line of operations; that Haynau's lines of communication with Austria were in our power; and that, in case of the defeat of the Austrians in the south, we had it in our power to assail their rear with the levy *en masse* of the districts on the Upper Danube.

I sent couriers to Kossuth and Görgey, informing them of what had happened, and promising within the next four weeks to raise and bring into the field, besides the necessary garrison for Komorn, a force of 30,000 men from among the enthusiastic and patriotic inhabitants of these districts. I likewise informed them of the contents of the General Berg's Report to the Czar, from which it appeared that Haynau and the Russians were afraid of the approach of autumn and winter, that they were resolved at any price to end the war before the advent of that unfavorable season, and that, unless they succeeded in doing so, the want of means of communication and of provisions, would compel them to adjourn their operations to the spring of the following year. Alluding to the views expressed in this Report, I protested that Hungary and our glorious cause could not but gain by a protracted warfare.

My couriers came too late to prevent the fatal

crisis. Kossuth learnt the victory and the successes of the 3rd of August on Turkish territory. The news came to Görgey at Grosswardein, after the consummation of the great and deplorable sacrifice.

No Austrian detachments were to be found on our side of Pressburg. I was, therefore, the more justified in allowing my troops to rest for a day. But on the 5th of August, I marched to Raab, taking with me ten battalions, six escadrons, and thirty field-pieces. I entered that city amidst the touching, though silent and saddened sympathies of the inhabitants. They had seen the enormous masses of Austrians and Russians marching through their town, and that sight seemed to have stifled all better hopes for the future. Besides, they were aware that the Austrians were already in possession of Szegedin, while the Russian army stood at Debrezin. In spite of our successes of the moment, they could not believe that the small army within their walls would suffice to save our ill-starred country. Wreaths of flowers were, indeed, showered upon my hussars and honveds, and the good people of Raab willingly shared their last crust of bread with them; but it struck me painfully, as though these marks of kindness and affection were bestowed upon favorites, indeed, but upon favorites who are doomed to death. Only a few flags with our national

colors were to be seen. The people were evidently afraid of informers and spies—whom our paternal friends, the Austrians, left behind, to pursue their hateful trade, and to pave the way to courts-martial and executions. What, indeed, could more worthily grace the triumphant entry of the Austrian cavaliers than the hanging of men and the whipping of women?

But far different from the gloomy feelings of the townspeople was the temper of the population of the country districts. Proud of the successes of their brethren, glorying in the spectacle of an Austrian rout, they cared little for the enemy's numbers and artillery. All they asked for was—whether now the time had come for the people to rise *en masse?* Grey-bearded peasants shook the hands of my soldiers, and said with that tranquillity which characterizes the Hungarian peasant:—"Don't you care! We'll get the better of the Russians too. Hitherto, we sent our sons only, but now, we, the old ones, will take horse." They meant well, and would have acted up to their word; for, of all classes of society, it is a bold and substantial peasantry, which is most ready to fight in the cause of freedom, and least inclined to abandon its banner. There is a dogged sturdiness in the peasant's nature which makes him eminently useful for the operations of a campaign.

But to return. At Komorn I left Colonel Assermann with eight battalions. Four battalions, three escadrons, and six guns were posted on the Shütt island.

On the Buda road I sent scouring parties to Bicske, and flying columns were despatched to Stuhl-Weissenburg and Vesprim.

My great end and aim was now to remove the immense stores of ammunition and of provisions which I found at Raab; to destroy the enemy's besieging works in the Shütt, and to organise a levy *en masse* on the right bank of the Danube.

After this it was necessary to leave a garrison of 18,000 men, and among them two-thirds raw levies, in Komorn, and with the rest of my troops and a numerous "landsturm," to commence my operations on the right bank; to make an expedition into Styria, or to destroy the corps of the Austrian General Nugent, on the banks of the Platten Lake. As a necessary consequence of this latter operation, I would have obtained possession of Buda and of the whole extent of the right bank. The 6000 to 7000 men I had with me were too small a force to allow me, at first, to make a more comprehensive plan.

I lost no time, but proceeded at once to recruit my forces, and in the counties around me I ordered, as a preliminary measure, to enlist the men of between the ages of eighteen and thirty.

The readiness with which the people responded to my call, showed me that a similar proceeding at an earlier period, if carried on throughout the country, would have produced astounding results, and that it was not the fault of the people, if the enemy's forces were not met by double, and even treble their number of Hungarians. In a few days I had from 5000 to 6000 men, whom I sent to Komorn, and who, when armed and ranged in five fresh battalions, turned out to be trustworthy and efficient soldiers.

About this time I was also reinforced by the columns of the Government Commissioner Noszlopi, who acted as military commander of Somogy. They came from the Platten Lake, where they and their energetic leader had, ever since June, monopolized the attention of two Austrian reserve corps under Nugent, over whom they obtained some signal advantages. This little troop of brave men, which, left to themselves, and cut off from all communication with the Government and the rest of our armies, engaged and occupied the enemy, consisted of 3000 honveds, part of whom only were armed with muskets. The rest carricd scythes. They had one hundred horses. Their artillery consisted of nine one-pounders of metal, and one wooden six-pounder.

The newspaper reports of that time made frequent mention of Aulich's corps on the banks of

the Platten Lake. Aulich was not in that part of the country, for, from the taking of Buda to the 13th of July, he was an invalid, and after that period he acted as Secretary-at-War. Nor were any of our corps manœuvring in the Platten Lake districts; and the reports to which I have alluded, though substantially correct, must have alluded to Noszlopi's free corps. His troops were placed under Major Mednyanzhy, who was then actively engaged in enlisting the country population. They were afterwards incorporated with my army, and formed, at a later period, two battalions of the garrison of Komorn.

Six days had passed since our entry into Raab: the greater part of the stores had been brought to Komorn; the levy *en masse* was favorably proceeding on the right bank of the Danube; thousands of recruits had been raised, and the strong entrenchments which the enemy had thrown up at Atsh, Arangos, and Lél, were totally destroyed. Our condition was such, that we could safely quit our passive and protective position, and concentrate our whole force for another operation.

I have already stated, that there were two ways open for this expedition. We were at liberty to make a diversion into Styria, or, on the other hand, to throw our forces upon, and to disperse the Austrian corps under Nugent.

Those who had but a superficial knowledge of

military affairs protested, indeed, that there was a third way in which the offensive might be taken with success. They advocated an advance, by Wieselburg, into Austria, or upon Pressburg. But the advocates of this plan failed to consider the limited nature of the powers at my disposal. They overlooked the concentrated position of the Austrians at Pressburg, their communication with Vienna, by rail and steamer; the possibility of concentrating, within twenty-four hours, no less than 30,000 men on any given point. With the Neusiedler Lake on my left, and the Pressburg *tête-de-pont* on my right, any advance in that direction, on my part, would have been a feat worthy of Don Quixote.

After mature reflection, I resolved upon an expedition through the Eisenburg county, into Styria.

For this purpose, I ordered that my troops in the Shütt should make a forced march upon the Danube, which, after leaving a few detachments of cavalry to protect their rear, they should cross at Gyöngyös, on the evening of the 16th of August. They were to join the *gros* of my army at Raab.

The enemy, whom our demonstration had hitherto deceived as to our intentions, was, for the purpose of still greater deception, to be attacked at Wieselburg. On the 13th of August I intended to compel them to retreat, and to have them pursued and molested by Straube's division.

Straube was ordered to remain at Wieselburg on the 13th and 14th. At the end of these two days, he was to return to Hochstrass, and to Raab, where he was ordered to remain at the disposal of the commander of the fortress.

After the attack upon Wieselburg, I intended to lead the other divisions, in forced marches, to Sásvar, to proceed on the high-road of Közmönd, and to reach Styria before the enemy could know of my movements. This expedition was likely to awe the Austrian Government, and to command the attention of Europe. Besides this moral effect, I intended, unless the Styrians joined the insurrection, to disarm them, to collect their excellent rifles and stores of ammunition, and to return with them to the Platten Lake, there to engage Nugent.

On the 11th, I reviewed the troops which were to accompany me on my expedition. They were splendid soldiers, tried in war, and full of courage and hope.

After divine service had been held, I addressed the troops, and distributed medals amongst those who had most distinguished themselves in the late battles.

When the troops were informed that they were on the eve of another expedition, and of fresh battles and victories, their exultation vented itself in a thundering "*Eljen!*"

This happened on the very day on which Görgey, as Dictator of Hungary, announced to the people, that "*the wise and inscrutable decrees of Providence had sentenced us to ruin!*"

After the review, the staff-officers dined at my quarters. It was a merry feast. We drank health and prosperity to Kossuth and Görgey; we drank to the liberation of the country, the downfall of Austria, and the future greatness of Hungary. We were still at table, when I was told that a peasant insisted on seeing me on urgent business. I ordered him to be introduced to my presence. A man came forward, whose peasant's dress, worn and travel-stained, cloaked a face and figure which were not those of a stranger. The new-comer was Paul Almási, the Speaker of the Lower House, who told me, in accents broken with grief, that he was a fugitive—that all was lost! Nagy Shandor's troops were routed at Debrezin; Dembinski was defeated at Szöreg; Bem's troops were dispersed at Shässburg; the Parliament was despairing—so was the Government. Such was the state of affairs! He added, that his late successes had enabled Haynau to send a large mass of disposable troops against Komorn. Jablonski's brigade was ordered against us. His troops had entered Pesth, and were preparing to effect a junction with Nugent's advancing battalions.

This news struck me like lightning. It was confirmed by the newspapers Almási gave me, and which contained statements of the demoralization of our lower army, and of the many thousands of Hungarian prisoners which, in the course of the last fight, had fallen into the hands of the Russians and Austrians.

This state of things compelled me to cling to the communication with Komorn. All I could do was to concentrate the whole of my resources and power upon this one point, and to prepare this last bulwark of Hungary for the most obstinate defence. I gave up my plan of attacking Wieselburg, and ordered the troops to keep in marching order. The late bad news I communicated to no one.

Great was the astonishment of the men and their commanders, when, on the 12th, they were ordered to retreat, instead of to advance. They left the city of Raab gloomily and sadly. Its inhabitants stood weeping, and full of dark bodings. They knew that for many a long and weary day to come, they would see no warriors armed for the cause of Hungary—no Hungarian colors fluttering over their heads!

On the 16th, all my troops were concentrated in Komorn, and in the entrenched camp. The Austrians were advancing by Raab, but they had not yet taken up a position in the line

of siege; and I, therefore, thought the opportunity favorable to throw my forces upon Nugent, who advanced alone and carelessly. But in this instance, too, Providence would have it otherwise. On the 18th, I received the following communication:—

"The following telegraphic dispatch has arrived from Marburg:—

" ' Field - Marshal Lieutenant Haynau has despatched a courier, who will arrive in Schönbrunn in the course of this day, to inform His Majesty the Emperor, that the rebel chief Görgey, with an army of from 30,000 to 40,000 men, made, on the 13th instant, *an unconditional surrender*, at Világos."

At first I was inclined to consider this news as an empty fable, invented for the purpose of intimidating the garrison. I mistook it for one of those mendacious bulletins which, in the course of the last winter and spring, had been circulated by the Austrian journals. But in the course of the day, there came many officers from Görgey's camp, who had witnessed the fatal catastrophe, and who informed me of its details. The grief and despair of the troops baffle all power of description. After so many combats, sacrifices, and victories, to be suddenly hurled

into the deepest abyss of hopelessness—to see our own undoing, and the subjection of the country—was more than the trusty sons of their parent earth, the dauntless champions of liberty and justice, were prepared to bear.

Still larger numbers of fugitives from Világos poured into the fortress. Their arrival had a demoralizing action upon the spirit and temper of my troops, and compelled me from the first to put a stop to all aggressive measures, to allow that deep and dreadful impression to wear away, to watch the spirit of the troops with the most anxious care, and to enforce the regulations of a Spartan discipline.

On the evening of the 19th, the bearer of a flag of truce was admitted into the fortress. He brought the following letter:—

"Major-General Liebler to the Commander of Komorn.

"I am instructed by Field-Marshal Lieutenant Csorich, the Commander of my corps, to send Lieutenant Büttner, of the staff, into the fortress of Komorn. Protected by the customs and usages of martial and international law, he will submit to you the enclosed proclamations of the Feldzeug-Meister Haynau.

"These proclamations will show you that any

further resistance would tend to alienate you and your garrison from the supreme grace of His Majesty the Emperor.

"Obedient to the instructions of the Commander of my corps, I open the negotiations with you by means of the said Lieutenant Büttner. I have empowered him to speak and act for me. I entreat you to follow Görgey's example; to give their due to humanity and justice, and to terminate this fatal and destructive war.

"The unlimited grace of a benevolent Monarch is assured to you by a variety of examples. I am prepared, through the Commander of my corps, to submit the conditions of your capitulation to His Majesty the Emperor's notice.

"I expect your reply this very day, at Lack. You will please to send it by Lieutenant Büttner.

"LIEBLER,
"Major-General and Brigadier.
"*Lack*, 19*th August*, 1849."

The gentleman who summoned me to capitulate belonged to the very corps which, a fortnight ago, had fled before my troops to Pressburg. Such a summons, from such a quarter, could hardly be considered in a serious light. Nevertheless I assembled a Council of War, and, pursuant to the advice of my officers, I sent the following reply:—

"In reply to your official notice, we have to say, that we have received no authentic information of the state of affairs in the Banat and on the Lower Danube; and that we cannot, unless it be treasonably, enter into any negotiations.

"For the Council of War of the
Fortress of Komorn,
"KLAPKA."

Of far greater importance than this summons —which we took for no more than an attempt to sound the feelings and temper of the garrison— were the journals which on this occasion came into our hands, and which contained a variety of official and non-official documents, all of which related to Görgey's surrender. The most fearful impression on us was made by the parting words of Kossuth, and by Görgey's address to the nation. I add the text of both:—

"KOSSUTH TO THE NATION.

"After the unfortunate battles wherewith God, in these latter days, has visited our people, we have no hope of our successful continuance of the defence against the allied forces of Russia and Austria. Under such circumstances, the salvation of the national existence, and the protection of its fortune, lies in the hands of the leaders of the army. It is my firm conviction that the continuance of the present Government would not only prove useless,

but also injurious to the nation. Acting upon this conviction, I proclaim, that—moved by those patriotic feelings which, throughout the course of my life, have impelled me to devote all my thoughts to the country—I, and with me the whole of the Cabinet, resign the guidance of the public affairs; and that the supreme civil and military power is herewith conferred on the General Arthur Görgey, until the nation, making use of its right, shall have disposed that power according to its will. I expect of the said General Görgey—and I make him responsible to God, the nation, and to history—that, according to the best of his ability, he will use this supreme power for the salvation of the national and political independence of our poor country and of its future. May he love his country with that disinterested love which I bear it! May his endeavours to reconquer the independence and happiness of the nation be crowned with greater success than mine were!

"I have it no longer in my power to assist the country by actions. If my death can benefit it, I will gladly sacrifice my life. May the God of justice and of mercy watch over my poor people!

"Louis Kossuth.
"S. Vuckorits.
"L. Csanyi.
"M. Horvath."

II.

" GÖRGEY TO THE NATION.

" CITIZENS !

" The Provisional Government exists no longer. The Governor and the Ministers have voluntarily resigned their offices. Under these circumstances, a military dictatorship is necessary, and it is I who take it, together with the civil power of the state.

" Citizens ! whatever in our precarious position can be done for the country, I intend to do, be it by means of arms or by negotiations. I intend to do all in my power to lessen the painful sacrifice of life and treasure, and to put a stop to persecution, cruelty, and murder.

" Citizens ! the events of our time are astounding, and the blows of fate overwhelming! Such a state of things defies all calculation. My only advice and desire is, that you should quietly return to your homes, and that you eschew assisting in the resistance and the combats, even in case your towns are occupied by the enemy. The safety of your persons and properties you can only obtain by quietly staying at the domestic hearth, and by peacefully following the course of your usual occupations.

" Citizens ! it is ours to bear whatever it may please God in His inscrutable wisdom to send

us. Let our strength be the strength of men, and let us find comfort in the conviction that Right and Justice *must* weather the storms of all times.

"Citizens! May God be with us!

"ARTHUR GÖRGEY.

"Arad, 11th August, 1849."

These documents left us no doubt of the downfall of our cause. They convinced us that even Kossuth had given up all hope. We were indeed told that General Bem and other leaders were still holding out in various parts of the country, but their ultimate fate, too, was removed beyond all doubt by the following letter which Kossuth addressed to Bem:

"I do not care for my own safety. I am tired of life, for I see the fair fabric of my country, and with it the sanctuary of European liberty, thrown down—not by our enemies, but by the hands of our brethren. It is not a coward's yearning for life which induces me to hasten away. I go, because I am convinced that my presence has become obnoxious to the country.

"General Guyon writes to say that the army at Temeshvar is in a state of complete dissolution: as for you, General, you too are disabled. Görgey at the head of the only army which remains, pro-

tests that, instead of obeying, he means to command. I have adjured him to be a patriot and to remain faithful to his country—and—I have made way for him. At present I am a citizen—neither more nor less. I went to inspect the state of affairs and the forces at Lugos. I found General Vecseys's corps in good order and well disposed; all the other corps were disbanding. Dessewfi and Kmetty protested that, instead of fighting, this army was likely to take flight at the first gun-shot. I found them altogether without provisions, and forced to make requisitions—a wretched expedient, which serves only to exasperate the country people. The Bank has been brought to Arad; it is in Görgey's hands. What I saw convinced me that, if he surrenders, the army at Lugos cannot hold out for twenty-four hours, especially since they want the means of subsistence. In the enemy's country an army may possibly exist on forced requisitions and contributions—but by no means can it exist in this way in its own country. I for one will never lend my hand to forcible measures against my own people. I would give my life to save—but I will never oppress, the nation. You see, General, it is a case of conscience. I cannot resign on one day and claim the power of Government on the other. If the nation and the army were to will it otherwise, things would of course take

another turn—but then Görgey's army, the bravest of all our corps, ought to assent. Unless this be done, I am simply a citizen, and I will never consent to give the assistance even of my presence to measures of terrorism, to destruction and robbery, to requisitions and oppressions. If Görgey's army, too, were to call me back to the Government—if you were to succeed in some operations tending to ensure the provisioning of your troops without violent measures against the people—if the Bank could be brought to work, and if it stood at my disposal—then indeed you would find me willing, on the nation's demand, to resume the duties of office. But unless those things are done, there is no office for me. With me, war is not the end—it is a means to save the country. If I see no probability of accomplishing the end, I will not lend my hand to make war for its own sake.

"As a citizen and an honest man, I advise you to call a Committee of the Representatives of the people, for it is their supreme power alone which can lawfully dispose of the Government. Send couriers to Komorn and Peterwarasdin. Tell them to hold out. Endeavour to obtain certain information about the co-operation of the Commander of Arad. These are matters of the first importance, but my presence is not: for since you are forced to adopt violent measures to provide

for your army, I cannot lend the assistance of my presence to measures of that kind.

"I remain, with great respect,

"KOSSUTH.

"Tergova, 14th August, 1849."

My spirit recoils from this period of despair and unutterable woe. Never was any people so suddenly thrown into the abyss of disgrace and destruction! Never was a victory more complete than that of the Austrians and Russians, but never too was ever an advantage obtained by such disgraceful means! Knicanin's Servian robbers—Janku's cut-throats and incendiaries—the misled and victimised Croats, Sclavonians, and Saxons—cheered the success of the Imperialist armies, for they were now allowed to fall upon and plunder the outnumbered and betrayed. A noble people lay bound and bleeding, and the vultures of the desert showed it that tender mercy which vultures are proverbial for showing!

The details of Görgey's surrender, the late defeat of our armies, the fatal encounters and transactions on the Maros and in the Banat, which we had first learnt from the Austrian journals, were but too fearfully authenticated, by the fugitives from the lower army, and by the numbers of unfortunate persons who came to Komorn as the last place of refuge for the Hungarian patriots.

The Imperialists, meanwhile, who had attracted considerable bodies of troops from Austria Proper and Bohemia, occupied Raab on the 16th August. On the 19th they advanced to Atsh. Aided by the two brigades of Nugent and Jablonski, they mustered on the whole of the blockading line to the strength of nine brigades—that is to say, three times more than the numbers that formerly besieged Komorn. Besides these, General Grabbe's Russian corps of 18,000 men advanced from the mountain cities.

On the afternoon of the 20th of August, the enemy took up a position at Herkály and Csém, in front of Atsh forest. From this position they sent two officers to the fortress, to insist on my surrender. The two officers were, Lieutenant-Colonel Isakoff, Adjutant of the Czar, who had just arrived from the Russian head-quarters, and the Austrian Colonel, Count Alcaini.

Lieutenant-Colonel Isakoff, a fine young man, informed me that he came by the express orders of his Czar, to tell me that there could be no idea of an evacuation of the country by the Russians, unless the fortress of Komorn were in the hands of the Austrian generals. He entreated me to follow Görgey's example: to surrender Komorn, to terminate the war, and to spare the wretched country the enormous burdens and expenses of a prolonged military occupation. Urging me, with

the least possible delay, to give the young Emperor of Austria an opportunity to extend his grace to thousands of prisoners, Colonel Isakoff showed me a letter which Görgey had addressed to General Rüdiger. Görgey's letter was to the following purpose :—

"General!

"I presume you are familiar with the melancholy history of my country. I will not, therefore, enter into a detail of events which are so ominously connected, and which involved us in a desperate struggle for our legal liberties, in the first instance, and for our existence, in the second. The better—indeed, I may say, the larger—part of the nation, did by no means carelessly brave the chances of such a contest, but once engaged (and enjoying the support of many honorable men, who, though not Hungarians by birth, came, by the force of circumstances, to be parties in the conflict), they have honestly, manfully, and victoriously held out to the last.

"But the policy of Europe compelled His Majesty, the Czar of Russia, to league with Austria for our overthrow, and for the termination of our war for the Hungarian constitution. Many of our true patriots had foreseen and prophesied the event. History will one day unfold what it was which induced a majority in the Provisional

Government to close their ears against the voices of our patriots.

"The Provisional Government exists no more. The hour of danger found them most weak. I, who am a man of action (though not of a vain action), *I* saw that all further effusion of blood was useless—that it was fatal for Hungary. I knew this from the commencement of the Russian invasion.

"I have this day called upon the Provisional Government to make an unconditional resignation, for their continuing in office cannot fail still further to cloud and to jeopardise the fortunes of my country. The Provisional Government became convinced of this truth: they resigned, and gave the power of the state into my hands.

"I make use of this circumstance for the purpose of preventing a further sacrifice of human life; and since I am too weak to defend my peaceable fellow-citizens, I will at least liberate them from the miseries of war. I make an unconditional surrender. This act of mine will, perhaps, induce the leaders of other Hungarian armies to follow my example. I place my reliance on the notorious generosity of His Majesty, the Czar, trusting that he will consider the case of numbers of my brave comrades, who, as former officers in the Austrian army, are seriously compromised; and that he will not sacrifice them to

a melancholy and uncertain fate. I trust that His Majesty will consider the case of the unfortunate people of Hungary, who rely on his love of justice, and that he will not hand them over, helpless and unarmed, to the blind thirst of revenge of their enemies. Perhaps it is enough, if it is *I* who am the only victim.

"General! I address this letter to you, because it was you who gave me marks of respect which have gained my confidence.

"If you wish to put a stop to further and useless sacrifice of human life, I entreat you to take measures that the melancholy act of surrender may take place at your earliest convenience, but in such a manner, that our arms be surrendered *only* to the troops of His Majesty the Czar of Russia. For, most solemnly do I protest, I would rather see my corps engaged and annihilated in a desperate battle, no matter against what odds, than make an unconditional surrender to Austrian troops!

"To-morrow, on the 12th of August, I intend to march my troops to Világos. On the 13th, I proceed to Boros-Jenö; and on the 14th, to Béd. I inform you of these movements, because I wish that you should lead your force between the Austrian troops and mine—that you should surround me, and cut me off from the Austrians.

"In case this manœuvre were to prove unsuc-

cessful, and in case the Austrian troops were to pursue ours, I mean to oppose an effective resistance to their attacks, to turn upon Great Warasdin, for the purpose of meeting the army of His Majesty the Czar; for it is to his army alone that my troops are prepared to make a voluntary surrender.

"I expect your reply at your earliest convenience, and I remain, with my assurances of unlimited respect,

"ARTHUR GÖRGEY.

"Old Arad, 11th August, 1849.

"9 o'clock, P.M."

This letter, and, indeed, the assurance of the two officers, that Komorn alone had it in its power to extend the blessings of peace to the whole country, failed to induce the Council of War and myself to entertain the *naïve* proposals of the besiegers. Referring to our declaration of the previous day, we informed the two gentlemen that negotiations were quite out of the question, until such time that authentic news of the state of affairs in Transylvania and on the Lower Danube had come to the fortress. The negotiators returned to Atsh. On the following morning, they again made their appearance, with a message of the Austrian War Minister, Count Gyulai (then at head-quarters), offering an armistice, until a

deputation, which we were to send, should, by ocular demonstration, have come to be convinced of the real state of affairs. Passports, and an escort, were provided by the Austrian commander.

We accepted the proposal, and the armistice was concluded for the term of one fortnight, with the condition that either party should have it in his power to recommence hostilities at forty-eight hours' notice.

Our chief motive in assenting to this measure was our anxiety respecting the fate of our detached columns on the right bank of the Danube. They mustered to the strength of 3000 men, and, by the conditions of the armistice, they were allowed to join us in the fortress. The enormous number of troops which the enemy were concentrating on all sides, made this force a valuable addition to our garrison, and this the more, since the courage of the country people was broken by the bad news which poured in from all sides, and since, consequently, an insurrection on a large scale was quite out of the question.

The Austrians, following up the terms of our convention, occupied Atsh, Igmand, and Dotis, on the right bank of the Danube—Apácza, Szakallas, and Guta in the Shütt Island—and the line of the Waag on the left bank of the Danube.

The Russians, under General Grabbe, took their places in the line from Leva to Neutra. The right bank of the Danube and in the Shütt, the ground between the *rayon* of the fortress and the Austrian lines, and, on the left bank, the territories between the rivers Neutra and Waag, and those between the roads from Neuhäusel to Gran, and from Leva to Parkany and Neutra, were declared to be neutral ground.

On the 22nd of August, the two deputations of the garrison left Komorn and commenced their journeys. Colonel Thali and Mr. Katona, a citizen of Komorn, travelled in the direction of Temeshvar and Transylvania. Colonel Ruttkai and Csapó, the Sheriff of Stuhl-Weissenburg, went to see Görgey in the Russian camp at Grosswarasdin.

I employed the period of the armistice in endeavouring to reanimate the spirits of my garrison, on whom the late fatal news had told with considerable effect. I did all in my power to give them courage and confidence, and to make them familiar with the dangers which they were to brave. Thus I increased the moral force of the fortress; nor did I neglect to provide for our material security. In the territories which we occupied, I collected provisions, and had them brought into the fortress; the entrenchments on the Monostor, and on the Waag, I had partly

completed, partly extended and strengthened. The new battalions were organised, drilled, and broken to discipline.

Soon it was apparent, that it was but the first blow of the fatal news, which had stunned my warriors, and there could be no doubt but that the exemplary conduct of the officers would soon restore to them their former courage and confidence. All my officers, without a single exception, were animated by an excellent spirit. I was happy in the conviction, that even if the worst were to come to the worst, the fortress of Komorn would fall with honor. None of the officers showed himself dispirited and desponding. None of them complained of the fatigues of the service. None of them showed any anxiety as to the result of our operations, and when the first dark, evil hour of sorrow was over, they stood unshaken and dauntless. Firmness and manly resignation were the distinguishing marks of these brave men, who, if Providence had so willed it, would have fought the last good fight of honor on the walls of the fortress, with the same composure and quiet determination which crowned their brows when they left their country to be wanderers and exiles in foreign lands.

CHAPTER II.

SEPTEMBER.

GÖRGEY'S LETTER FROM GREAT WARASDIN—NEGOTIATIONS—RETURN OF THE TWO DEPUTATIONS—THE FORTRESS OFFERS TO CAPITULATE — HAYNAU'S SUMMONS — EXPIRATION OF THE ARMISTICE — COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES — FALL OF PETERWARASDIN—NUGENT—TRICKERY OF THE BESIEGERS—EXECUTIONS — FRESH NEGOTIATIONS — ANOTHER CAPITULATION OFFERED—LETTER TO THE EMPEROR—COLONEL HARTMANN—A GRAND COUNCIL OF WAR—HAYNAU AT KOMORN—THE CAPITULATION.

THE day after the conclusion of the armistice I received a letter from Görgey. It was delivered by the Russian Colonel Anicskof, who had come from the head-quarters of Prince Paskiewitsh. Görgey's letter was as follows :—

"MY DEAR FRIEND KLAPKA,

"Events which, though by no means unexpected, are still decisive, have happened since I saw you last. The jealousy and the selfishness

of some members of the Government have brought affairs to the crisis which I prophesied to you they would bring them to.

" When, after many an honest battle with the Russians, I had crossed the Theiss at Tokaj, I found that the Parliament declared that they desired me to take the chief command.

" Kossuth appointed Bem. He did it secretly.

" The country believed that I was Commander-in-chief, for Kossuth returned a jesuitical reply to the motion of the Parliament.

" This piece of knavery was the source of all the later events. Dembinski was beaten at Söreg. Bem's troops were routed at Maros Vásárhely.

" Dembinski retreated to the walls of Temeshvar. Bem hastened to the same place. He arrived on the field of battle at Temeshvar, and succeeded in restoring the fight for a few hours. But afterwards he was so fearfully beaten, that of 50,000 men (according to Kossuth's calculations), only 6000 remained in the ranks. Vécsey informed me that all the rest were dispersed.

" The Austrians advanced meanwhile between Temeshvar and Arad. The War Office had instructed Dembinski to retreat, as of course he ought to have done, upon our own fortress of Arad, and not upon Temeshvar, which was held by our enemies.

" Dembinski—Heaven knows why—acted in

opposition to this order. There are a great many facts which make me believe that he acted from motives of jealousy. He was jealous of me.

" The consequence was, that I stood alone with the forces which I took from Komorn (*minus* the serious losses I had at Waitzen, Rétsag, Görömböly, Zsolna, Geszthely, and Debrezin). From the south I was threatened by the Austrians, and from the north by the *gros* of the Russian army. I might, indeed, have retreated from Arad by way of Radna into Transylvania, but my affection for my country, and my desire to restore it to peace, *at any price*, induced me to surrender.

" But before taking that step, I convinced the Provisional Government of their inability to save the country, and of the certainty of a still greater ruin if they continued to remain in office. I induced them to resign.

" They gave all the powers of the State into my hands. Time pressed, and I took the resolution (rash though it seems, it was maturely considered) to make an unconditional surrender to the troops of His Majesty the Czar of Russia.

" My brave and gallant troops gave their assent. All the detachments in the vicinity of Arad volunteered to surrender with me. Damjanitsh commanded in Arad: he declared that he would follow my example.

"Up to the present, the treatment we have met with was such as a brave soldier has a right to expect from a fellow-soldier.

"Consider what you can do, and what you ought to do.

"ARTHUR GÖRGEY.

"Great Warasdin, 16th August."

Such was Görgey's letter.

I ought to add, that all other letters which were published, under a pretence that he addressed them to me, are mere inventions.

Colonel Anicskof had just returned from Vienna, where he had gone with despatches from Paskiewitsh, and, unless my memory deceives me, with the news of Görgey's surrender. His conduct was exactly the reverse of that of Colonel Isakoff. The latter bemoaned the fate of Hungary. When we parted, his sympathy with our wretched country was manifested by a paroxysm of tears; but he confessed openly and candidly, that Hungary could not hope for assistance or support from Russia, and that his master, though perhaps favorably inclined towards the Hungarians, was resolved to stand by the unconditional promise which he gave to the Emperor of Austria. His last words were a candid assurance that the Czar would certainly *deliver up Hungary to the*

free and unrestrained disposal of the Emperor of Austria.

Anicskof, on the other hand, acted the part of a diplomatist. When I mentioned Görgey's surrender, he assumed an air of secrecy and importance. He laid great stress on the friendly intercourse between the Russian and Hungarian officers. This diplomatic soldier, or military diplomatist, threw out very plain hints, that the time might, perhaps, soon come, when the allied Hungarians and Russians would make perfidious Austria account for her misdeeds. It struck me that such decoying and mysterious phrases might possibly have snared many of my comrades in Görgey's camp. But these arts were lost upon Komorn. The warriors whom Colonel Anicskof encountered under my command, were indeed simple and unpretending, but they were firm and alive to the exact nature of their situation. Their plain common sense could not make out the advantage of captivity at Arad, over freedom and duty in Komorn. Russian diplomacy was foiled in its attempts, and when Anicskof returned to Vienna, he was the bearer of our message, that "the garrison of Komorn, though desirous of peace, could not think of negotiating before the return of the deputies whom they had sent to Arad and Transylvania."

These deputies returned on the 2nd of Sep-

tember. Ruttkai, who had been in the Russian head-quarters, and who had had a conference with Görgey, told us that there was an end of the Russian friendship for Hungary, and that our comrades had been given up to Austria. He said Görgey, too, was of opinion that, considering our advantageous position, we were entitled to a conditional surrender. He would not, indeed, give us his advice (nor did we ask it), and he left us to act as we thought proper.

Colonel Thali, who had been to Arad, gave us a lively account of the revolting treatment which the Hungarian prisoners in that fortress were subjected to. He told us that two Hungarian officers (the Majors Hrubi and Murman) had been tried, condemned, and executed by Court-martial. The sentence of two other officers was respited, but the fate of the wretched captives was doubtful, and in every respect terrible. The deputies were, however, unanimous in their accounts of the defeat of our armies, the disarming of our troops, the surrender of Arad, and the flight of Kossuth, and a small band of his faithful adherents, to Turkey.

Thali was, moreover, the bearer of a letter from General Haynau, and of a "*sauf conduit*," in case the gates of Komorn were opened to the Austrians within forty-eight hours after his return to the

fortress. The following is a translation of General Haynau's letter:—

H.—2399—D. K.

"To Mr. Klapka, for the time being, Commander in Komorn.

"Messrs. Thali and Katona, the messengers whom you sent to this place, have been convinced by ocular demonstration, and by the assurances of the captive chiefs of Görgey's corps, that, after the victories which the Imperial army, under my command, obtained at Szegedin and Temeshvar, as well as at Lugos and Deva, the corps which were opposed to me have been dissolved; that the chiefs of these corps, and most of the officers and men, with the whole of the artillery, are in our hands. Görgey's corps, too, is disarmed: his officers, men, and stores, are in my power.

"There is not, therefore, anything like a so-called Hungarian army. The fortress of Komorn is thrown upon its own resources. You can have no hopes whatever of relief, and the garrison can have no hope to receive mercy at our hands, unless you make a voluntary and immediate surrender.

"The fate of your troops depends upon your decision. You will but expose them to useless tribulation, if, misled by an erring craving for

military glory, and at your own responsibility, you continue your rebellious resistance against your legitimate king and lord.

"I therefore summon you immediately to surrender the fortress to Field-Marshal Lieutenant Csorich, the Commander of the blockading army, and to avoid the heavy responsibilities which any delay of the surrender must necessarily bring on your head.

"Head-quarters at Old Arad, 27th August.

"The Commander-in-Chief of the
Imperial Royal Army,
"HAYNAU, Feldzeug-Meister."

Haynau, it appears, was blinded by his unexpected successes in the south. He anticipated an unconditional surrender of the fortress of Komorn.

I replied to his letter that I had indeed entered into negotiations with Field-Marshal Lieutenant Csorich, but that an unconditional surrender of the fortress could never be thought of. General Csorich was indeed wise enough to ask me to communicate to him any conditions I might have to make, concerning the surrender of the fortress. He proposed to submit these conditions to the inspection and sanction of his superiors.

Our isolation, the hopeless condition of the country, the repeated assurances of the Emperor's

grace, of a complete reconciliation, of oblivion of the past, of the pacification of the country and the improvement of its condition—assurances which in a thousand forms were over and over again made to our negotiators, whenever they came to Dotis—succeeded, by dint of repetition, to induce the Council of War in Komorn to think seriously whether or not a prolonged defence would expose them to the reproach of having frivolously and unnecessarily insisted on a further sacrifice of human life, and on an increase of the burdens and miseries of war. Our terms were consequently drawn up, to serve as the basis of all future negotiations. The following copy of this document was sent to the Austrian Head-quarters :

" Council of War of the Fortress of Komorn.

" The conditions under which the fortress of Komorn will surrender to the Austrian troops are the following, viz. :

" 1stly. An amnesty for the nation.

" 2ndly. A free pardon for the whole of the Hungarian army, without excepting any nationality; as well for those who have already surrendered, as for those who will hereafter take that step. Immediate liberation of the Hungarian soldiers who have hitherto been captured by the allied armies.

"3rdly. Recognition of the paper currency which was issued by the Hungarian Finance Department.

"4thly. Free choice of abode either in or out of Austria for everybody, and the grant of passports to those who may desire to leave the Austrian dominions.

"5thly. Free departure with all military honors of the garrison of Komorn.

"6thly. A month's pay for the officers; ten days' pay for the privates; to be paid in good and valid currency.

"7thly. All private property is sacred, no matter to whom it belongs.

"8thly. Ratified copies of this treaty of capitulation to be exchanged within eight days from this date, that is to say, up to the 8th day of September, 1849.

"9thly. Perfect oblivion and indemnity for the inhabitants of the city of Komorn. Exchange of the paper currency issued by the Commander of the fortress.

"Komorn, 1st September, 1849.

"For the Council of War of the
Fortress of Komorn,

"KLAPKA."

He accompanied these conditions with the following letter:

"The news of the successes of the Austrian armies in the lower countries, found us by no means unprepared. When we heard of Görgey's surrender, we considered the great national contest as ended. The Commissioners, whom we sent for authentic news of the state of affairs, have returned. What they have told us, made a deep impression on our minds. It stands in flagrant contradiction to the promises of peace, reconciliation, and indemnity, which we received from you direct, and by means of our negotiators.

"Instead of peace and tranquillity for our wretched country, we find that preparations are making for executions. Instead of words of reconciliation, we hear that courts-martial are assembling, that sentences are publishing; we learn that our wretched brethren, who surrendered as an only means to restore tranquillity to the country, are being condemned and executed.

"You must see that this news cannot possibly induce us to surrender the fortress. On the contrary, it appears that a large part of the garrison refuses to hear of a capitulation, and our just indignation has been excited by the unceremonious manner in which the Feldzeug-Meister General Haynau summoned us to make an unconditional surrender.

"General! we are convinced that we have no

chance of being relieved. The firm and unalterable resolution to which we have come, under these circumstances, ought consequently to be considered by you, not as prompted by illusions, but as the result of our conviction that there is but *one* way to satisfy the demands of *honor* as soldiers and as Hungarians.

"I enclose you the terms on which the fortress of Komorn is prepared to treat. If you accept them before the termination of the armistice, you will find that the gates of Komorn will open to receive your troops. But if you do not accept them, we know our duty as soldiers and patriots, and we are prepared to act with due regard to the nation, which entrusted its most precious treasure to our keeping. This resolution, General, has been taken by the whole of my officers, each of whom considers his life as nothing compared to the fate of the country and to the melancholy condition of our brethren.

"KLAPKA."

The Austrians were not likely to go the whole length of these conditions, but there was some hope that our perseverance and resolution would enforce their compliance with most of them—for *Peterwarasdin* was still in our hands!

That fortress was commanded by General

Paul Kiss.* He was a bold and resolute man, and one who might be expected (if he heard of our resolution) to follow our example by framing his conditions of surrender on the same level with ours. A regular siege of these two fortresses would have entailed an enormous sacrifice of life and treasure upon the Austrians. Besides, it would have caused the destruction of the fortifications.

After sending my terms to the Austrian Commander, I despatched two of my cleverest scouts, instructing them to take different routes, to proceed to Peterwarasdin, and to give the commander of that fortress a copy of my conditions, to which I added the following letter:

"To the Commander and the Garrison of Peterwarasdin.

"After the fatal event at Világos, and after the surrender of our various corps, there is no other way of benefiting the country, except by a joint action of Komorn and Peterwarasdin. These two fortresses are the last and unconquerable bulwarks of the nation. I therefore enclose you the conditions under which we offered to capitulate, and on the acceptance of which I staked

* He ought not to be mistaken for the General Kiss who at a later period was executed at Arad.

the surrender of the fortress. I summon you, by your country and your honor, to place your own negotiations on the basis of these conditions; and if they are declined, to make it a war to the knife, and to bury yourself amidst the ruins of your fortress.

"Komorn, 1st September, 1849.

"KLAPKA."

The unconditional surrender of the fortress of Peterwarasdin, which took place soon afterwards, makes me believe that my couriers came too late; indeed, I have reason to fear that they were captured and shot by the Austrians.

My letter and terms of capitulation were taken to the Austrian camp, by the Colonels Esterhazy and Kaszonyi. General Csorich received them with great politeness. He promised to do all in his power to ensure the acceptance of our terms, but he felt himself called upon to say that there was little hope of such a contingency. He advised us to modify and reduce our conditions. My negotiators replied that they had no discretionary power whatever, and that our terms had been agreed to by the unanimous consent of the Council of War.

The two officers had scarcely returned to the fortress, when they were followed by an Austrian

messenger, with a letter from Haynau, of which the following is a copy:—

"I have no doubt but that, in consequence of the report of your two commissioners, and in consequence of the late summons which has been addressed to you, you and the garrison will have given up all thoughts of resistance, and that you are prepared to surrender to the legitimate Government. Still, before the expiration of the armistice, I will again repeat my summons to you; for I would do all, as far as in me lies, to prevent a further sacrifice of human life.

"You are consequently instructed, immediately after the receipt of this letter, to make an unconditional surrender to the Commander of the Austrian blockading army. The fortress of Komorn, with all the military stores in it, is to be given up to the organs of your legitimate Government. I think it my duty seriously to warn you, lest you should be tempted to surrender the fortress to the *Russian* army; for I give you my word of honor that the Russian generals will deliver all the chiefs, troops, and stores into my hands, as they did in the case of Görgey's army, and in the case of the garrison of Arad.

"But if the garrison of Komorn were to attempt to evade making a surrender to the legitimate sovereign, you would not only have no advantage

whatever, but you would also lose all claims to leniency on our side; for I again give you my word of honor, that all the insurgents, chiefs, troops, and stores, which surrendered to the Russians, have already been handed over to us.

"For your own notice, I will add, that, in case an immediate and unconditional surrender of the fortress be made, *you, for your own person, may confidently rely on my generosity*, if indeed I am the man who keeps his word in promises as well as threats.

"In conclusion, I will inform you that I have addressed a letter, containing a free pardon, to Arthur Görgey.

"HAYNAU.

"Pesth, 31st August, 1849."

During the course of the siege, I made it a rule to submit all letters that were addressed to me, to the inspection of the Council of War; for I was alive to the precarious nature of my position, and I knew that, ever since the events of Világos, the suspicions of our officers had been justly and seriously roused. The answer which I returned in the present instance was consequently dictated by the Council of War. It informed General Haynau of the fact, that negotiations had already been entered into with General Csorich, and that the surrender of the fortress, far from being un-

conditional, depended on the acceptance by the Austrians of our terms and conditions.

The time for denouncing the armistice ended on the 2nd of September: of this fact we were apprised by the following despatch:—

"To the Commander of the Fortress of Komorn.

"The convention of the armistice which we concluded, terminates on the 4th instant, at twelve o'clock at noon. The points of the capitulation which you sent us do not agree with the terms of an unconditional surrender; and, according to the provisions of the convention, we give you warning, that the armistice is to cease at the time above mentioned, viz., at twelve o'clock on the 4th instant.

"CSORICH."

This letter gave the signal for the renewed activity of the besiegers, as well as the besieged. The troops which, during the armistice, had been quartered in the villages on the left bank of the Danube, were marched into the fortress. The garrisons of the works were increased, and the outposts doubled. Great energy was displayed in adding to and increasing the enormous fortifications and entrenchments of the Monostor. The troops, with but few exceptions, were in excellent temper and keeping. The officers were energetic

and indefatigable. They knew the melancholy fate of their captive comrades of Arad and Temeshvár, and they were firmly resolved to defend the place to the last, but never to make an unconditional surrender.

Field-Marshal-Lieutenant Csorich had, meanwhile, been removed from his command of the Austrian troops. His place was taken by the old Feldzeug-Meister Nugent. This officer, who, in the course of last winter, had prevailed upon the garrison of Essek to capitulate, enjoyed the reputation of being a good diplomatist. He was known to be kind and affable, and he was less hated than Haynau. He was independent of Haynau, and received his instructions directly from the Austrian War-Office. They were to the effect that he was to reduce Komorn, either by a siege or by negotiations.

He signalised his advent to the command by completing the Austrian works at Atsh forest, Csém, and Herkály.

He led his army into the former line of siege, which he completed and extended, for the increased number of troops under his command allowed of his acting on a grand plan. On the right bank, he occupied Almás, Mócsa, Csém, Puszta-Herkály, and Atsh; his lines crossed the Shütt from Aranyos to Keszegfalva; while the Russians, under Grabbe, advancing from the

mountain cities, occupied the Zsitva line, and the villages of Zsitvato, Kurtakeszi, O'Gyalla, and Martos. Their reserves were at Sz. Peter.

On the 5th of September, the fortress was completely surrounded, and the skirmishing commenced on the outposts. But a serious inconvenience was found in the numbers of soldiers that fell ill. In the beginning of September, we had 4000 men in the hospitals—or, more properly speaking, in the vaults and galleries which were destined for the reception of the sick and wounded.

On the 7th of September, the Austrian commander sent a flag of truce, and the news of the *unconditional* surrender of Peterwarasdin. Again we were summoned to follow the example of that fortress, and our reply was again, that we would never make an unconditional surrender, but that Komorn was open to an honorable capitulation.

The fall of Peterwarasdin destroyed our last hope. We were isolated, without resources, and shut out from Hungary, and indeed from the rest of the world.

The Austrians, on the other hand, were again in possession of enormous resources. The capitulation of Venice, and the surrender of Peterwarasdin, placed large stores at their command. They had it in their power to take the battering-

trains from Venice to Trieste, to move them to Laybach, and from thence to send them by rail to Vienna. The artillery, which they had employed against Peterwarasdin, could be brought up the Danube. They were at liberty to concentrate an unheard-of artillery force round Komorn, and to support its operations by a besieging army of 100,000 men.

A review of the strength and resources of the forces which were thus brought in opposition, convinced us of the hopelessness of our position. But our choice lay between disgrace and an honorable end. Every man of the garrison was resolved for the latter—many of them, indeed, were full of hopes, for they relied on the proverb, that Komorn was impregnable. This impression, which I took care to leave uncontradicted, was pretty general, for few of the officers were aware of the weak points of the fortress, and of our inadequate means of defence.

The operations of the siege commenced. The attacks of the Austrians were directed, not against the walls of the fortress, but against the spirit and discipline of my troops. I was both shocked and surprised when I discovered their dishonorable practices. Nugent's first step was to send patrols, who distributed printed bills among my outposts, inviting them to desert, and promising them a safe conduct to their homes.

His want of success in his attempts to provoke desertion, caused him to practise corruption on a larger scale. Many thousand copies of a proclamation were smuggled into the fortress, chiefly by some wretched peasants, who were forcibly pressed into the Austrian service, and whose wives and children were kept in custody as pledges for the due execution of their commission. Several of these unfortunate men were arrested by my troops. They were put to death, as a warning to others. The smuggled proclamations were printed in the Hungarian, German, and Sclavonian languages, and contained an appeal of Nugent's to the garrison, entreating my soldiers to follow the example of their comrades, to insist on an unconditional surrender of the fortress; and, since their officers were induced, by their bad consciences, to resist and prolong the combat, to compel them to surrender; that is to say, my soldiers were summoned, in the King's name, either to *betray or kill* their officers. I will not condescend to apply to this conduct the only epithet which it merits. All I will say is, that it was worthy of the *paternal* policy of the Austrian Government.

The measures thus taken were still strengthened by the presence of a number of Görgey's honveds and hussars, who had come to the fortress after the surrender at Világos, and whose statements and conversation excited a demoral-

ising influence on my troops. The news which they brought, of the end of the war, of the surrender of the insurgents, and their dismissal to their homes — of their liberation from all military service — induced my soldiers to consider desertion from the standard to which they had pledged their faith, in the light rather of a weakness than of a crime. After the expiration of the armistice, I received, almost daily, reports of bodies of troops having deserted, and a general demoralisation and "*debandade*" was imminent.

This state of affairs compelled me to proclaim the *statarium*, and to invest the commanders of divisions with the power to pronounce and execute sentences of death. Shortly afterwards, two deserters from the forty-eighth battalion were recaptured, tried, and shot. But the example was too isolated to act as a warning. The number of deserters increased. On the 12th of September, a body of forty-eight men absconded from the quarters of the sixty-first battalion; they were for the major part Sclavonian and Wallachian recruits, whom I enlisted in June. Many others were preparing to follow their example. I saw that the time had come to act with the greatest severity. My hussars, whom I despatched in pursuit, recaptured thirty of the deserters. They were at once handed over to a *statarium*.

While the trial was being proceeded with in the open air, I was suddenly and most unexpectedly threatened by another danger. A mutiny had broken out in the camp of the Bocskai hussars.

The troopers of this gallant regiment (for the most part fine young men from Hajeduk cities) had volunteered to serve for one year, and in the course of that time they were always foremost in martial courage and zeal. But, having been informed that the divisions of their regiment which stood at Temeshvár had already returned to their homes, they insisted on receiving their discharge, protesting that their term of service expired within the next ten days. I addressed and persuaded them to stay, after discharging a few of the men, who, as fathers of families, proved that their presence at home was urgently required. The rest returned to the camp.

One escadron of this regiment was soon afterwards ordered to the outposts. But, yielding to the promptings of two of their comrades, they refused to obey. Throwing down their arms, amidst threats and imprecations, they insisted on an immediate discharge. Colonel Kaszap, a man of great energy, whom they loved and revered, tried vainly to bring them back to their duty, and to warn them of the consequences of their conduct. They clamored, refused to listen to his

reasoning, and demanded to see me at once, and in a body.

They were admitted. Again I endeavoured, by kind words, to convince them of their error: they were obstinate, and insisted on their demand. It was then that, with a bleeding heart, I committed the wretched victims of their obstinacy (seventy-five in number), to trial by statarium. They were sentenced to death, and the deserters with them.

I commuted the sentence to decimation of the Bocskay hussars, and confirmed it in the case of eight of the most guilty among the deserters. The execution of the sentence took place on the 14th of September, in the midst of six battalions and of one escadron of the Bocskay hussars. Twenty-four men of each battalion of the garrison were ordered to attend punishment; and when the sun set, the seven hussars and eight honveds had ceased to live.

This fearful execution awed all minds; for the brave, though misguided men, died with firmness and sincere repentance. Many of the spectators wept, and again pledged their oaths that they would devote their blood and their lives to the cause of their country. As for the rest of the mutineers, they understood at length the true nature of their crime. They implored me, for pity's sake, to lead them into the midst of the

fight, and to give them an opportunity of atoning for the guilt which oppressed them.

From that day we had no desertions and mutinies to contend with.

The following days passed amidst small engagements on the outposts, and preparations for the attack and defence of the fortress.

A Frenchman, who at this time succeeded in crossing the enemy's lines, and entering the fortress, brought me a letter, which Manin, the Venetian Dictator, addressed to Kossuth. The letter, which was penned a few weeks previous to the capitulation of Venice, contained a proposal for an offensive and defensive alliance between Venice and Hungary. But it was too late. The proposed league might have done much good, if concluded at an earlier period, when liberty was all-powerful and tyranny most supremely weak. The day of victory was the time for an alliance; proposed as it was, on the day of defeat, it only served to add to our feelings of sorrow and disappointment. The proposal was but a last convulsive grasp of agony, and the two noble nations were abandoned, betrayed, and hunted down, while the rest of Europe looked silently on, without speaking one manly word from official quarters, without marching a single soldier in support either of Venice or Hungary.

An episode of a peculiar kind, interrupted at

this time the care and the turmoil of war, filling all minds with a more cordial detestation of those who scorned not to employ the vilest means to work out their evil purpose.

On the 17th of September, I was informed of the presence in the town of a suspicious character. It was said that, for the few last days, a man had been remarked in various places, who collected with great interest all details concerning my looks, appearance, and the hours and routine of my daily occupation. On being questioned, this person could not produce either a satisfactory passport or a reference, and he was consequently arrested. When taken into custody, he insisted on seeing me, pretending that he had matters of the greatest importance to communicate to me, and to me alone. I ordered him to be admitted. My adjutant, Lieutenant-Colonel Pragai, who had formerly been a resident at Vienna, expressed his opinion that the individual in question was one of the familiars of the Austrian police. Thus warned, I was fully prepared for the interview; but still I was startled by the appearance of the stranger. Never, in all my life, did I see so repulsive a countenance. He was a one-eyed man, with thick hanging lips; his nose was awry, and his face covered with scars and mottles. This person, who stated that his name was Fehèrhegyes-Weissenberger, and who pretended to be a native of

America, prepared to talk with great coolness and deliberation; but a few abrupt questions sufficed to awe him into silence and confusion. His replies became incoherent, and, casting an anxious glance about the room, he entreated me to dismiss the officers and orderlies, and to enable him to make his important communication. In reply to my further queries, he asserted that he intended to go to Kossuth, and not finding the Governor at Orsova, he retraced his steps up the Danube, and came to Komorn to communicate to *me* the secret which was intended for Kossuth. I insisted on knowing this secret, but he became more and more confused—he hesitated, stammered, made contradictory assertions, and was at length utterly confounded. I ordered him to be seized and searched. On his person we found a poniard, which bore traces of use, and which probably had done good service on other occasions. Some papers were discovered, sewn up in his dress, and among them a passport and safe conduct from Haynau's head-quarters, bearing the signature of Count Hoyos, the Adjutant-General of the Austrian Commander-in-chief, instructing all Austrian authorities to give their official support and assistance to M. Fehèrhegyes, who had been sent to arrest Kossuth. This, of course, was nothing but a contemptible pretence. Another paper which we found, turned out to be

an official letter of recommendation, signed by a Hofrath of the Vienna police, who designated the bearer as a useful and trustworthy individual. Since it was evident that this person was hired to assassinate Kossuth, I felt myself justified in handing him over to the statarium.

In the course of his trial, he admitted that he was a spy; but on all other points he refused to make a confession. He was sentenced to death, and executed. Before he died, and when he had no hope of pardon, he was struck with repentance, and confessed that he had come for the purpose of assassinating me. The clergyman to whom he made this confession, reported his statement to me the day after the execution, with the criminal's prayer for my forgiveness. He likewise desired I should be informed of the plans of an associate of his, who had fallen ill at Pesth, but who would soon make his appearance under the disguise of one of Görgey's hussars. The remainder of the dying sinner's confession was not revealed to me; but the details which remained sealed up in the priest's heart must have been of a most shocking description, for the Rev. Mr. M———, the kindest and mildest of mortals, appeared strangely moved and excited.

I cannot, of course, decide who it was that planned my assassination: whether the foul

scheme was bred in the head of a high dignitary, or whether it sprang from the officious brain of some subaltern. But my suspicions turned naturally upon those who had an interest in my death, since it was likely to open them the gates of the fortress; and these individuals must necessarily belong to the upper ranks of society. The authenticity of these facts can be testified by all the officers of the garrison, by the auditor, and the members of the statarium, and by the priest who received the assassin's last confession.

On the 19th of September, we had a visit from two Austrian officers, who brought a letter from General Ernst Kiss, formerly Commander of Komorn, but now a prisoner at Arad. General Kiss, like many other Hungarian officers, was not compelled to surrender. He might have fought his way to Turkey, but he preferred making an unconditional surrender. He was misled by the kind and humane treatment of the Russians, and when given up to the Austrians, his easy and good-natured credulity was wheedled round into believing and wishing to inform us, that his own fate and the fortunes of his comrades depended on the speedy surrender of Komorn; and that the severe treatment to which they were subjected must continue and even increase in severity, until the fortress had followed their example. The

unfortunate man protested that the continuance of the war in Komorn, while all the other parts of the country were enjoying the blessings of peace, must lead to the devastation of our part of the country, without benefiting the cause of Hungary. He entreated me to imitate the resignation which he and his fellow-sufferers had shown, and for their sakes to submit to the decrees of inexorable fate. It appears that General Kiss relied with great certainty on the effect of his letter; for at a later period, when I stayed at Pressburg, and when his martyrdom had not yet publicly transpired, I was called upon by one of his relations, who wished to know whether the General's letter had had some influence on the capitulation of Komorn.

Other prisoners, too, sent letters of entreaty and exhortation. They all were misled by the illusion that it was only Komorn which opposed the young Emperor's heartfelt yearning for acts of grace, and that the surrender of that fortress would, by a kind of magic, open the gates of their prison. How grievous must have been the disappointment of those wretched victims of their confidence, when, after the surrender of Komorn, they were scornfully, and with jibes and jeers, sent to the gallows or to the vaults of the Spielberg and Kuffstein!

The officers who brought General Kiss' letter,

declared that the Feldzeug-Meister Nugent was prepared to treat with the fortress, but that the negotiations must be grounded on the basis of a simple military treaty. No clause relating to political and national affairs could be admitted, though we were at liberty to submit our wishes in this respect in the form of a petition. The country, said General Nugent, was re-conquered, the nation disarmed. Under these circumstances, there could be no idea of negotiating with the conquered as to the future of the country. But certainly the loving-kindness of His Majesty the Emperor entitled us to the best and brightest hopes.

The usual Council of War consisted of the chiefs of the corps and divisions, and of the chiefs of the engineers and of the artillery. I held, that questions of such vital importance ought to be discussed by a larger assembly; and I therefore summoned the garrison to send two staff officers of each battalion to meet me in Council on the 20th. Addressing this meeting, I detailed to them the melancholy condition of the country, the precarious situation of our incarcerated comrades, the impossibility of any army coming to our relief, and the necessity of honorable negotiations. These points were severally discussed and debated upon, and an almost unanimous resolution was come to at last, that the

capitulation should be severed into two distinct parts—that an address should be sent to the Emperor, entreating him to grant the country the favors which we desired for it; and that a committee of officers should be appointed to negotiate with General Nugent on the conditions of our capitulation.

Pursuant to this resolution, the following gentlemen were elected to serve on the committee—viz., the Colonels Kaszonyi, Assermann, Szabo,* Janik, Count Paul Esterhazy, Count Otto Zichy, the Lieutenant-Colonels Ruttkai, Pragai, Mednyánzki, and the Captains Gasparits and Takáts.

Our address to the Emperor, and the revised draft of the capitulation, were, on the evening of that very day, sent to General Nugent.

Although the surrender of Peterwarasdin was not at this time open to any doubt, the Council of War thought it necessary to authenticate the rumors which were rife on the subject of that fortress, and exactly to ascertain the ground on which we stood in the course of our negotiations. We offered, therefore, to elect and send a deputation of four officers. General Nugent assented to our wish, and immediately despatched a steamer to take our deputation to Peterwarasdin.

On the 23rd of September, notice was given of

* Commander of the city.

three strangers, whose passports were *viséed* by the Russian commander, demanding admittance into the fortress. They were arrested and examined; but as they protested they had come to purchase wool and hides, which just then were being sold in the fortress, and as there were no other grounds of suspicion against them, they were discharged from custody, and sent away. I was afterwards informed that these strangers belonged to the Vienna secret police—that they were *familiars* of Prince Schwarzenberg, whom he sent for the purpose of gaining and corrupting the more influential among my staff-officers.

Two days afterwards, we were honored by the visit of Colonel Hartmann, Adjutant of the Emperor of Austria, and Colonel Jungbauer, the chief of the staff of the blockading corps. They came for the purpose of negotiating. Colonel Hartmann told me that he had himself presented our address to the Emperor. He expatiated on the inexhaustible stores of the Emperor's grace, and on his most gracious master's joy on hearing of the kind treatment which the captured Austrian officers received at our hands. He added, that decisive measures had been taken with respect to the country, but that we were justified in entertaining the brightest hopes of its future, and of the fate of our captive comrades. As for the other points of the capitulation, he said he had brought

instructions for General Nugent; but that compliance with all our demands, especially with those respecting the free discharge of the hussars and infantry, could hardly be expected.

When the great Council of War assembled on the following day, they were informed of this declaration. I added, that the enemy's definitive refusal to comply with our present modest requests would induce me to break off all negotiations—that we could not possibly concede a single point—and if the capitulation, as it now stood, was declined, I must call upon the garrison to be mindful of their honor as Hungarians and soldiers, and to hold out to the last.

My address was received with thundering cheers. The garrison resolved to brave death and danger for their honor's and country's sake. Notice of this resolution was immediately forwarded to General Nugent.

The deputies who brought this intelligence to Nugent, were also the bearers of a letter which I addressed to the hostile commander, and the contents of which I communicated to them, and to Mr. Ujházy, the Government Commissioner. The following were the reasons for, and the contents of, this letter:—

The Austrian Government employed at that time the vilest means of jesuitical policy, for the purpose of obtaining possession of the fortress,

without reducing it by a siege, or assenting to a capitulation. On the 21st, Nugent had sent me a letter, in which he asked me to betray the fortress and garrison into his hands: in return for which piece of service he pledged his honor that I should have a considerable annuity—*blood-money* is the more appropriate term—and the option of living on the price of my infamy either in Austria or in foreign countries. This offer was disguised under the specious pretence of a reward for the kind treatment which the Austrian captives and wounded had received at my hands. The reply which I sent to the military diplomatist was calculated to convince him of the utter hopelessness of his attempts to corrupt the Commander of Komorn. I protested that the kindness which I showed to the captives and wounded, was a duty which, as a man, I owed to my fellow-men; that I scorned the idea of a reward; that I entreated General Nugent not to grudge me the proud consciousness of having at all times placed my fate on a level with the lot of the lowliest honved of my garrison; and that, consequently, he would be sure to oblige me by discontinuing his dishonorable overtures.

My letter to General Nugent gave the signal for a renewal of hostilities. Of this fact I informed the troops by the following *General Order*, in which I was under the necessity of

animadverting on the intrigues of some agitators:

"COMRADES!

"Intrigue and treason have brought our country to the brink of ruin. The naked truth of this statement has been communicated to you. You heard it with heart-felt sorrow, but with that tranquillity and resolution which befits men of your stamp, and which is worthy of the just cause to which you have hitherto devoted your lives.

Comrades! I know your hearts and your thoughts. I was right in scorning to have recourse to untruth; I was right in not deceiving you with mendacious hopes, with hopes which are grateful to cowards, because they lull craven fear, the nightmare of effeminate triflers and miscreants, but which can have no influence on men who braved death a hundred times. I gave you truth, for I knew it was truth which you wanted.

"And you, Comrades, you shamed into silence the voices of those who believed that misrepresentations were required to keep you true to your duty. In the very face of the late bad news, I see you firm and resolved: your enthusiasm takes a higher flight, for you understand your duty and your historic mission.

"The path of negotiations, on which we hoped, by laying down our arms, to save—not ourselves

—no! to save our poor bleeding country—the path of negotiations is cut off. Our demands have been refused, and we are forced again to battle for our most precious jewel, for the honor of our arms, and to die a glorious and manly death for our country.

"Comrades! We are entirely thrown upon our own resources. Our victory and our freedom depend solely upon our cordial and energetic co-operation. Woe to the man who would attempt to disunite us! Providence has placed your fate in my hands, and God and mankind make me responsible for your safety from the vile intrigues of a few wretches and traitors.

"Comrades! I am not a stranger to you. You know my life; my career and my actions for the country and the common welfare are open before you. Examine every one of my steps; examine every action of mine, and see whether I am the man to be trusted.

"My affection for you, for the men with whom I shared joy and sorrow, glory and danger: my love for you and my boundless love for the country: these are the only motives which have hitherto swayed my actions, and which for the future shall guide me. The purity of my intentions gives me strength in these decisive moments to be your leader; but it also strengthens my resolution to maintain order and discipline.

"It is with a heavy heart that I should have recourse to means of extreme severity, if necessity, and the end we have proposed to attain, should compel me; but I am resolved to have recourse to such means if the care for your honor and existence requires it, nor should I hesitate to strike down a hundred, if those hundred were to endanger the fate of thousands.

"'You will always find me at the post of danger! Death for the country!' Let this be our motto, if fate gives us no other way to save our honor.

"Courage, union, and confidence, must determine our fate.

"May God be with us!

"KLAPKA, *General.*

"Komorn, 23rd September."

I cannot undertake to decide whether it was that the resolution which my garrison expressed induced General Haynau for a time to change his nature, or whether he was actuated by his desire to celebrate the 6th October* in his own way. Later events induce me to believe that it was the near approach of that fatal anniversary which urged him to make his personal appearance at the head-quarters of the blockading corps, and that the following letter which he addressed to

* The anniversary of the Vienna Rebellion, and of the assassination of Count Latour.

me was, in fact, dictated by his yearning for the blood of his captives :—

"Head-quarters at Atsh, 26th September, 1849, 4h. 30m. P.M.

"I have just arrived in this place, and I have taken the command of the blockading army.

"I inform you of this fact, for I think it necessary, by a personal interview with the Commander of the fortress, to obtain a termination of the negotiations which are now pending on the surrender of the fortress.

"I intend to come to this interview, and I invite you, the Commander of the fortress and the troops, to meet me in person, in the presence of those leaders and chiefs who are most violently opposed to a surrender, or of others whose presence may appear desirable to you. We shall thus be enabled to take a general and comprehensive view of the state of affairs, and to come to a definitive resolution.

"I leave you the choice of the place, provided it be at some distance from the fortress, for instance in Puszta Csém or Herkály, or wherever you please.

"The interview is to take place on the 27th, between the hours of ten and eleven, A.M. You will please to send me your answer, appointing the place by seven o'clock, A.M., on the 27th.

"You will take an escort of half an escadron of hussars. I intend to bring an equal number of horse.

"It is scarcely necessary to say, that this invitation has no hidden motive, nor one which is incompatible with a soldier's honor and my word.

"HAYNAU,
"Feldzeug-Meister."

The style of this letter was so different from that of Haynau's earlier epistles, that I became at once convinced of the great interest which the Imperial Feldzeug-Meister took, in the immediate surrender of the fortress. Many of my officers amused themselves with a favorable interpretation of this phenomenon. They believed that this altered conduct savored of a desire to give the young monarch—*according to the repeated promises which were made in his name*—an opportunity of granting an amnesty to the Hungarian people and to our captive comrades. The 6th of October has taught us the exact value of the words and promises of the blood-thirsty Austrian dynasty!

Disgusted with incessant intrigues and the cavillings of our enemies, I was resolved, as far as my person was concerned, to take no part whatever in any negotiations. In consequence of

this resolution, I submitted Haynau's letter to the Council of War, desiring them, if they thought it worth their while to entertain the Feldzeug-Meister's proposal, to send the members of the Committee, since I myself could not think of accepting the invitation of the Austrian Commander-in-Chief.

The Council of War instructed the Committee to proceed to Puszta Herkály, midway between the outposts of the two camps, and to communicate our former conditions to the Feldzeug-Meister Haynau. A message to that effect was sent on the evening of the 26th September.

Puszta Herkály is a farm which lies on the left side of the Atsh road, at the distance of a German mile from Komorn. This spot witnessed the conclusion of the second act of the Hungarian war. My officers proceeded to the spot with an escort of our escadrons of hussars. Soon after their arrival they were joined by General Haynau, who was accompanied by his Adjutant, the General Susan. After some preliminary formalities and declarations, a discussion commenced on the clauses of the capitulation. General Haynau most obstinately opposed the clauses treating of the free discharge of those soldiers who formerly served in the Austrian army, and another clause, expressing our claim of a certain sum of money

as an equivalent for the bank-notes which had been issued by the Commander of Komorn.*

After a long discussion, an understanding was effected on all the clauses, and the capitulation was concluded very much as it had stood at first, though conditionally, because it wanted my consent and the sanction of the Council of War. When the Commissioners returned to the fortress, the Council met, and sanctioned the Convention, which was then submitted to my ratification. I signed it.

I have already adduced the political motives which prompted us in taking this step. Other motives, and those not less urgent, were found in the condition of the fortress and garrison. The stores which we took from the Austrians in the

* For the purpose of meeting some earlier attacks of a low though official paper—the *Magyar Hirlap*—and some recent slanders of the Vienna paper *Lloyd*—I protest that, in spite of the enormous amount of booty (to the value of several millions of florins) which I took from the Austrians, and in spite of the large stores at Komorn, I left the fortress as poor as I entered it. I never took any part in the administration of our finances and in the distribution of stores. The duties of these departments were in the hands of commissioners, who acted under the superintendence of the Government Commissioner Ujházy, and under Colonel Assermann, and who acquitted themselves of their trust with the most honorable disinterestedness. This fact is generally known in the fortress and in the city of Komorn. To attack me with such discreditable weapons is a monopoly of the Austrian system of calumny, for those who barter honor and conscience for the sake of money, cannot by any means understand how a man can honestly and disinterestedly do his duty.

course of the two successful *sorties* were very considerable. Still there was a want of some articles of the provisioning catalogue, while other items were dwindling away at an alarming rate. We were particularly short of money, wine, and dress. We had received but one remittance of money ever since the Government left Pesth, and this sum, too, was so small, that it scarcely sufficed to cover the current expenses of one week. We were under the necessity of drawing checks on the military chest of Komorn, and the number of the garrison, and the variety of our necessities, raised the debt we thus incurred to the enormous amount of 900,000 florins. The value of this paper-currency was alarmingly affected by the siege; at the end of September it had sunk so low, that a soldier's pay would not cover the expense even of a glass of brandy. The wine in the depôts was scarcely enough for the next four weeks. The want of articles of dress was most severely felt. The Government had neglected to send us a sufficient supply of uniforms. A large part of the garrison was badly and scantily clad; and the few articles of dress they had were fearfully worn out by the fatigue service in the cold and wet nights of autumn. About the end of September we had 5000 men in the hospitals, and a still larger number was expected as the season increased in severity;

while the large numbers of the besieging army forced us to expose our men to the incessant wear and tear of service, on the extended line of our works, and on the outposts.

A clause had been added to the capitulation providing that the surrender of the fortress should take place *after* the return of the deputies whom we had sent to Peterwarasdin. In return, we promised every two days to allow a steamer to pass down the river to Pesth. The Convention of the capitulation was couched in the following terms:—

"SURRENDER OF THE FORTRESS OF KOMORN.

"Under the following conditions, viz.:

"1. Free withdrawal of the garrison without arms. The officers to retain their swords as their property. Those officers who formerly served in the Austrian army, shall have passports which will enable them to cross the frontiers of the Austrian dominions; those who do not wish for such passports shall have permission to return to their respective homes—always excepting those who voluntarily return to the Austrian service.

"The honved officers, that is to say, those officers who were not formerly in service, shall be allowed to remain free in their respective

homes, without any reservation as to their future employment in a military capacity.

"The soldiers of the former Austrian regiments are to have an amnesty. What has been said of the honved officers applies to them, viz.: they are to have a free discharge, and no judicial proceedings shall be taken against any of them.

"2. Passports to foreign countries shall be given to those who claim them within thirty days.

"3. The officers are to have a month's pay; the soldiers are to have ten days' pay in Austrian bank notes, and according to the ratio which is generally given to Austrian officers and soldiers.

"4. To liquidate the liabilities of the garrison, as entered into by draughts on the military chest, the Austrian Government engages to pay the sum of 500,000 florins in Austrian bank notes.

"5. The sick and disabled of the garrison of Komorn shall have the care and treatment they require.

"6. The garrison are entitled to their moveable and immoveable private property.

"7. The place, time, and manner of the surrender, to be determined by another document.

"8. Hostilities are immediately to be suspended on either side.

"9. The fortress will be surrendered accord-

ing to the usages and customs of war, and after the ratification of the convention by the two contracting parties.

"Signed at Puszta Herkály,
"27th September, 1849.

"HAYNAU,
"Feldzeug-Meister.

"TAKATS, Captain.
"GASPARITS, Captain.
"MEDNYANSZKY, Lieutenant-Colonel.
"JOHN PRAGAI, Lieutenant-Colonel.
"STEPHEN RUTTKAY, Lieutenant-Colonel.
"COUNT OTTO ZICHY, Colonel.
"COUNT PAUL ESTERHAZY, Colonel.
"JOHN JANIK, Colonel.
"SIGMUND SZABO, Colonel and Commander of the City.
"JOSEPH KASZONYI, Colonel.
"FRANCIS ASSERMANN, Colonel and Commander of the Fortress.
"GEORGE KLAPKA, Commander in Chief of the Fortress and of the Army.*

* For the original text of this convention see the Appendix.

CHAPTER III.

OCTOBER.

SURRENDER OF THE FORTRESS—THE WURTEMBERG HUSSARS—AN ACCIDENT — GENERAL HAYNAU — FAREWELL TO THE GARRISON—RETURN OF THE SOLDIERS—KLAPKA LEAVES KOMORN FOR PRESSBURG.

BEFORE I surrendered the last stronghold of our liberty, I thought it my duty to bring a tribute to gratitude and friendship. For this purpose I ordered the whole of the garrison to meet in parade and attend a funeral service in commemoration of our brethren who fell in the war of Liberation. For the last time my troops met under arms; for the last time were they assembled beneath the victorious banners which so often led the way through the fiercest contention of battle. The *Requiem* which was chanted for our comrades was chanted for us, for we all buried our happiness and our hopes. When the service was over, and when the first division defiled before me in sorrow and silence,

it seemed as if the soldiers felt that my grief was even greater than their own, and rallying for the last time, their trembling lips uttered a loud and thundering *Eljen!* to the beloved and the forlorn —to our Country!

On the 2nd October, our deputation returned from Peterwarasdin. They confirmed the news of the unconditional surrender of that place. After hearing their report, I published the following general order to the army:

"Comrades! There is a weight on my heart in addressing you, as I do, for the last time, for my thoughts of you are bound up in thoughts of so much joy and so much sorrow, of glory gained by the blood of such numbers of patriots!

"It is not long since we entered on our glorious path. While we sacrificed our private feelings and interests, we struggled to gain the goal at which to aim was our duty. We did what men can do, and we need not fear to meet either God's judgment or that of the world. But the decrees of fate were unpropitious to our cause. We leave the path on which patriotism strewed so many flowers,—we leave it, because our blood cannot now benefit the country. We leave that path on the bidding of the country, for in future, too, it will stand in need of its sons; we leave it because

we owe our country a sacred duty, and because that country's sole comfort lies in our unalterable affection.

"Comrades! remain as you have been, the pillars and lovers of Hungary! You have manfully, perseveringly, and to the last labored in the task which was imposed upon you. If you yielded, it was because necessity willed it so. May this reflection be a comfort to you: let your hearts cease from sorrowing, for your honor is safe. Receive the country's warmest thanks for your manly resolution, and with it receive my sincerest and most heartfelt adieus. May God be with you!

"GEORGE KLAPKA."

The Austrian Field-Marshal-Lieutenant Nobili had, two days previous to the date of this proclamation, entered the fortress, for the purpose of conferring with the Commission on the mode and manner of the surrender. The following document, which was drawn up at the time, relates to the evacuation of the fortress, and to its occupation by Austrian troops.

"AGREEMENT RESPECTING THE SURRENDER OF THE FORTRESS OF KOMORN.

"The fortress of Komorn will be surrendered

on three successive days, in the following form and manner, viz.:—

"FIRST DAY.

"The surrender commences on the second day of October, 1849. At four o'clock, P.M., on that day, the Hungarian troops will leave the entrenched camp, and the *tête de pont*, after those troops have first laid down their arms. The infantry are to pile arms and to lay down their colors and accoutrements—viz., their cartridge-boxes and ammunition, great coats and knapsacks. The cavalry are to dismount and to give up their swords and carbines. The cavalry soldiers will remain with their horses until the same can be handed over to a detachment of Austrian cavalry.

"This done—while the Austrian troops are ranged at the distance of 1000 yards from the entrenchments—the said troops will advance and occupy the entrenched camp and the *tête de pont* on the Danube. The battering guns, with their stores of ammunition and implements, will remain in the works.

"The Austrian garrison of the entrenched camp and *tête de pont* will, on that day, consist of

Infantry	9 battalions.
Rifles	2 companies.
Cavalry	8 escadrons.

Field batteries, with horses, of six guns each, with ammunition cars 5
Foot batteries, 6-pounders 2
Howitzer battery 1
12-pounder battery 1
3-pounder battery 1

"An Austrian detachment of cavalry will receive instructions to take care of the train-horses.

"The Hungarian troops, which have been ranged in the entrenched camp and in the *tête de pont*, will leave the *rayon* of the fortress by companies, immediately after the surrender of the arms, horses, etc., and after having received their pay and warrants of *sauf conduit*. They will immediately proceed in the roads of Igmând and Dótis, and, by steam, down the Danube.

"It is understood that the officers (who take their baggage) leave the fortress with the soldiers, and that those only remain behind who have claimed passports over the Austrian frontier, and who, consequently, must apply to the new commander of the fortress for a *carte de sureté*. THOSE AMONG THE MEN WHO DESIRE TO ENLIST IN THE AUSTRIAN SERVICE, WILL GIVE NOTICE OF THEIR INTENTION BEFORE LEAVING; OVER AND ABOVE THE TEN DAYS' PAY, THEY WILL RECEIVE A SUM OF MONEY AS BOUNTY, IF IT IS FOUND THAT THEY ARE FIT AND PROPER FOR SERVICE.

"Officers of the Austrian garrison will be

instructed to protect and guide the Hungarian troops to their respective countries.

"For the purpose of expediting the distribution of the pay and of the warrants of *sauf conduit*, it is agreed that an Austrian officer will be appointed for every two battalions, escadrons, and batteries, who will hand the warrants and papers to the respective commanders, and assist in the distribution of the same.

"The Hungarian Commander will issue instructions for the necessary calculations being made respecting the pay for the soldiers and officers, and he shall provide that the warrants are properly filled up with the names of the parties.

"The occupation of the entrenched camp and of the *tête de pont* having taken place, Austrian sentinels will be posted at the entrance on the right bank of the Danube of the two bridges. These sentinels will stop every one who is not provided with an order. The garrison will do the same on the left bank.

"SECOND DAY.

"The surrender of the old and new fortress, and of the island, takes place on the 3rd of October. These places are to be given up with all their stores, arms, artillery, ammunition, provisions, and military establishments. Respecting the surrender of the arms and the distribution of

the pay and the warrants, the same regulations are agreed upon which have been mentioned above.

"The garrison of the above works consists of nine battalions of foot, with artillerymen and the soldiers who were employed in the various military establishments. In leaving the fortress, these troops will cross the lower bridge over the Danube, and proceed to the right bank of that river.

"Immediately after their departure, the Austrian troops will occupy the old and new fortress, and the island in the Danube, and sentinels will be posted on the glacis and on the bridges.

"THIRD DAY.

"The works on the Waag and Palatinal-line, the Apalya island, and the public offices in the city, with the stores of arms, ammunition, regimentals, provisions, and military establishments, are to be surrendered on the 4th of October.

"The garrison of the above works, consisting of nine battalions of foot, six escadrons of horse, one 6-pounder horse-battery, and 1 3-pounder foot-battery, will lay down their arms on the Gipsey's Meadow, and leave the fortress by the Pressburg Gate. They will depart for their respective homes partly by the Shütt island, in part by the bridge at Köszegfalva, and in part by the bridge which crosses the Danube at the Czonzo.

"The troops which are in the transport-house

are to appear on the Gipsey's Meadow, and to leave the fortress on the same day.

"The sick and wounded who are in the chief hospital on the Palatinal-lines, in the Convent of the Benedictines, and in the Reformed College, are to be consigned to the care of the Austrians, who will leave the medical staff of the army at Komorn.

"The Hungarian Commander will make a list of the names of the sick and wounded officers. This list is to be given to the Austrian Commissioner, Bayerfeld, to ensure to these officers the advantages of the capitulation.

"In conclusion, it has been agreed, that the officers and other functionaries, who have charge of stores of any kind, shall remain in Komorn until the due delivery of the stores has taken place.

"This agreement is to be ratified within twenty-four hours.

"Thus executed *in duplo*, signed and exchanged.

"Komorn, 1st October, 1849.

"SZILANYI,

"Lieutenant Colonel and Chief of the Staff of the Fortress of Komorn.

"JUNGBAUER,

"Lieutenant Colonel and Chief of the Staff.

"COUNT NOBILI,
"Field-Marshal-Lieutenant
of the besieging army.

"*I agree,*

"KLAPKA."

The surrender of the fortress took place according to the terms of this agreement. All the stores, ammunition, and arms, were given up to the Austrians; and the greatest care was taken to prevent a violation of the compact on our side, to enable us, if the capitulation were violated, to make a free and unreserved appeal to public opinion.

On the 3rd of October I met General Haynau accidentally in the *tête de pont* on the Danube. He had just come from Atsh to examine the works and entrenchments in and around Komorn. We conversed for a long time, but our conversation turned solely on the strength and the natural advantages of the fortress, and on the battles of the 2nd and 11th July. What he said bore the expression of so much humanity, that I was tempted to discover in his features a desire for reconciliation with the conquered country. No thoughts of revenge seemed to lurk on his brow. And yet it was he who, showing in this instance and in the course of his negotiations with our Commissioners, a most hypocritical sympathy and

affection for Hungary, so far belied his assertions, that, but a few days later, he concurred with his Emperor in hanging and butchering the noblest men of the nation, as if they were so many thieves and incendiaries. Revenge will rise from the ashes of these murdered men!*

If we of the garrison of Komorn could for one moment have supposed that the profusion of Austrian promises of kindness and reconciliation would come to such a bloody and treasonable end, we would gladly have sacrificed our own lives to avenge the innocent blood of the martyrs for our country's liberty.

May this great and terrible lesson be of profit to Hungary! Providence is just, and the day of our glory will come—sooner, perhaps, than our oppressors dare to think!

On the afternoon of the 3rd of October, I assembled the regiment of Würtemberg hussars on the right bank of the Danube. I addressed them with words of sincere gratitude for their perseverance, patriotism, and courage. The heroes, who had braved the heat of many battles, wept tears of sorrow; and a thundering "*Eljen!*" for the country and for me, rang through the air. Behind me were the Austrian Generals, Colloredo,

* "Exoriare aliquis vestris ex ossibus ultor!"

Nobili, Burich, and Barko. General Nobili requested me to ask the hussars whether any of them wished to enlist in the Austrian army.

I put the question as he asked it. It was followed by a deep silence. Not a single man left the ranks. An old serjeant advanced at length. He said, calmly and quietly,—"General! we have faithfully served our country. We will support it again, if need be; but *never*, *never* will we go to the Austrians!"

These are a warrior's sentiments. The man who, for the sake of his pay, will consent to fight against his country and his friends, is nothing but a contemptible hireling.

On the evening of the 4th, my troops had left the fortress, and the proud and pure *tricolor* of Hungary was replaced by the soiled black and yellow Austrian banner, which flagged from the walls.

On the morning of the 5th, most of the divisions were on their way to their homes. Every man of them received the following

WARRANT OF SAFETY.

For N. N., who is free to return from here to his home, N., in the county of N., and who, belonging to the Garrison of Ko-

morn, is entitled to the favors granted to that Garrison, respecting the safety of his person * and property.

"BAYERFELD,
"Imperial Commissioner.

"Komorn, 1st October, 1849."

Such a "Warrant of Safety," surmounted by the double-headed eagle of Austria, was placed in my hands; and on the afternoon of the 5th of October, I took a sorrowful leave of my friends, and proceeded to Gönyö and Pressburg, where I was instructed to wait, until it should please the authorities to provide me with a passport for England.

It was with a heavy heart that I bade farewell to the victorious bulwarks of Komorn. From the day on which that fortress came into the hands of

* Safety of the person, means in *Austrian*, forcible enlistment in Austrian regiments.

the Hungarian Government, to the day on which, in consequence of the late melancholy events, I was forced to surrender it to the Austrians, I was, by the confidence of our Government, at various periods entrusted with its command, and my brightest and saddest reminiscences clung to its walls. It was here that, in September, 1848, I first admired the untiring activity and the devoted perseverance of the new national guards. It was here that I saw the country people, convinced of the importance of the place, coming forward by thousands to aid in the completion of the works. They left their homes and their rural labors, and sacrificed their private interests to the public good. It was here, again, where the heroic Hungarian army, after a series of victories, in April, 1849, pressed the enemy across the Theiss, the Eipel, and the Gran, and dispersed the Austrian army, which, for the last forty days, had blockaded the fortress. It was here I witnessed the victorious battle of the 2nd July; it was here I parted from my noble comrades, who but too soon were to become victims to the revenge of our enemies; it was here my mind was convulsed by the news of the surrender at Világos and the defeat at Temeshvar. All my sorties and expeditions from Komorn were successful. It was here I really admired the Hungarian army under my command. It was here I gloried in my troops: for, alive to the

dangers and the hopelessness of their condition, they were resolved to hold out to the last. Officers and men vied in devotion and contempt of death: their courage rose to a higher pitch, to meet the destructive springtide of danger. Their patriotism was unbounded. They expected no assistance, but their hearts were firm. Every man was resolved to convert the fortress into a heap of ruins, to bury himself under its fragments, and to give his life for his country's honor. Nothing could have prevented the execution of this resolution but the wish to benefit our captive comrades. It was this wish which induced us to agree to the honorable capitulation, which the Austrian commander and plenipotentiary of his lord and master stooped to violate, thereby branding his name and reputation for all times to come! It was within the walls of this fortress that an Austrian *bravo* sought my life. It was here that the Hungarian army became an object of sincere interest and affection to the honest and war-worn inhabitants of the city of Komorn. It was here I saw the Hungarian *tricolor* proudly waving from the walls of the fortress; and it was here I separated from my comrades — from my companions in many battles—the sharers of my dangers—the sufferers of my woes. I saw them taking a tearful leave of the standards, and taking away parts of the sacred insignia, as relics of a great and

glorious time. And it was here I became convinced that these men would always love their country, that they would always promote its welfare; and, if fate willed it so, that they would again offer their lives as a sacrifice for the liberty of Hungary!

CHAPTER V.

OCTOBER.

AUSTRIAN COURTS-MARTIAL IN HUNGARY—LOUIS BATTHYÁNYI—ERNEST KISS—LOUIS AULICH—JOHN DAMJANITSH—JOSEPH NAGY-SÁNDOR—IGNATZ TÖRÖK—GEORGE LÄHNER—CHARLES VECSEY — CHARLES KNEZICH — ERNEST PÖLTENBERG — CHARLES LEININGEN WESTERBURG — JOSEPH SCHWEIDEL —ARISTIDES DESEWFFY—ANDREAS GÁSPÁR.

THE garrison of Komorn surrendered because they were told that their obstinate defence of that fortress alone prevented the Emperor of Austria's reconciliation with Hungary. They were assured that the Austrian colors waving from the battlements of Komorn, would be a signal for the liberation of their captive comrades.

It was a signal for the meeting of courts-martial! The ill-omened colors of Austria * were hoisted as a token of their doom!

An Austrian court-martial is composed of fourteen persons—viz. of one presiding staff-officer, of two captains, two lieutenants, two quartermasters, two corporals, two sergeants, two privates,

* Black and yellow.

and of one *auditor*, who acts as counsel for the crown, who prepares the *species facti* (the indictment), and who gives the *votum informativum*. The accused has not the benefit of professional advice, and the verdict is given on the ground of the auditor's pleadings. The judges give their verdict in such a manner, that the lower grades—the privates, &c.—are first called upon to record their decision, lest, it is said, the lower grades should be awed and terrorised by the opinion of their superiors. But the inventors of this humane provision have doubtlessly forgotten to guard the unprotected minds of the privates and serjeants against the influence of the auditor's opinion, whose military rank and legal attainments are calculated not only to intimidate, but also to puzzle and to confound the minds of ignorant soldiers, who have no counsel for the defence to appeal to. In the usual course of proceedings, the auditor is the only lawyer who enters the precincts of a court-martial. One would say that auditors—gentlemen who, after absolving their study of law at some university, practised for a term of years in some upper military court, and who, for the most part, are wofully ignorant of the rules and practice of civil law—were not the proper persons to guide a court of privates and subalterns through the mazes of a state trial. Nay, more — the Hungarian state

law, which alone can be appealed to in prosecutions of this kind, is a sealed book to most of the Austrian auditors. The courts-martial, in their praxis and in their verdicts, lean on the provisions of the Articles of War, on the "Practice of Criminal Courts," published by Maria Theresa, and on the Austrian Civil and Military Penal Code. These laws and courts were, in Hungary, brought to bear upon civilians—a proceeding, about the illegality of which there can be but one opinion.

But General Haynau cared little for the legality or illegality of a measure, so it but served his purpose. Legal principles and legal practice were alike indifferent to a man whose wishes leant by no means towards justice, but who wished solely for a court which would be a serviceable instrument in his hands. And such a court he found in the ignorance, indifference, and the fanaticism of a court-martial. These courts were at once established throughout the country, and especially at Pesth and Arad. They were ordered to try and convict the Hungarian patriots, who had struggled for the liberation of their country and the prisoners of war, many of whom had been taken on fields of battle as honest and glorious as any that are recorded in history. These were the courts which made up for the want of law by an abundant share of arbitrary obstinacy; which

substituted passion for justice, and obedience for conviction. The consequences of such a course of proceeding are obvious.

The surrender at Világos filled all the gaols with captives and victims; trials commenced, and some capital sentences were pronounced and executed, when General Haynau and his Sëyds were suddenly reminded of the threatening and imposing attitude of Komorn. For a time they were stopped in their bloody career. It was necessary to have recourse to the other alternative of the Hapsburg policy. The Austrian negotiators fawned, flattered, and tried to induce the garrison of Komorn to surrender. The penal prosecutions were carried on with the utmost caution. Count Grünne, the Emperor's adjutant, was sent as courier, to respite all prisoners under sentence of death. But, with the surrender of Komorn, the spell was broken, and the hands of the spoiler were turned against his prey.

On the 7th of October, a rumour crept through Pressburg. It was a word which none dared to speak aloud—a word which men of *all* parties muttered with trembling—LOUIS BATTHYÁNYI HAS BEEN EXECUTED! He suffered at Pesth on the 6th! None dared to say more! It seemed as if even these words were a crime—as if the statement of that fact were a most atrocious libel!

The news of Batthyányi's death was still an object of alternate horror and grief, when intelligence came of the death of my gallant comrades at Arad. They, too, met their doom on the 6th of October!

Thus, then, it was clear, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the Austrian Government celebrated the anniversary of Count Latour's assassination by crimes of equal blackness, and still greater cowardice. The blood of Hungarians was shed to atone for the misdeeds of the rabble of Vienna! This, then, was the explanation of Haynau's unaccountable solicitude—this was the cause of his strong desire to expedite the capitulation of Komorn! It was to have his hands free on the anniversary of his Emperor's flight, of the assassination of his colleague, of the all but downfall of the Austrian Empire! The humiliation of the Court was to be atoned for by the noblest blood in Hungary! That blood flowed in honor of the ashes of the Count Latour! But the contrivers of this scheme forgot that its execution drew upon them the just contempt of the civilised world; that it imposed upon Hungary the sacred duty of revenge, and that the work they did on the 6th of October, 1849, made the favorite idea of "*Great and United Austria*," henceforth an impossibility.

As for Hungary, she were not worth that such men as Batthyányi, Aulich, Damjanitsh, Csányi, bled, suffered, and died for her, if she were not to rise again in her strength—if she were not to proceed on the path of civilization and liberty, when the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, protected from oblivion by its crimes, has indeed become *historical*. The vitality which for a thousand years braved all the storms of adverse fate, will tide the Hungarian nation over the breakers of an unconscientious policy. What the Tartars, what the Porte, what the old Spanish-Austrian system of policy failed to accomplish, will baffle the arts of the men who, for the time, lord it over my unfortunate country. For the life of nations has a power beyond the life of dynasties, and Providence suffers no wrong to be committed without proffering the means of redress. Already has the mark been set on that overbearing family: stricken in body, and blasted in mind, they have for centuries been visited with idiocy and epilepsy. Nor have the scorn and contumely of the world been wanting. The name of Hapsburg stands abhorred, — detested by the friends of liberty, and despised even by the accomplices of the crimes which it fostered and protected.

The greatest and the most illustrious of the victims of the 6th of October was—

I.

THE COUNT LOUIS BATTHYÁNYI.

He was a scion of one of the noblest and most ancient among the Hungarian families, of which the members in all times were distinguished by their patriotism and the devotion they showed in the cause of the Hungarian throne and people. He was, for many years, the leader of the opposition in the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament. Every one of his words and actions shows the impress of patriotism, and an untiring zeal for the maintenance of the laws. In the month of March, 1848, the King Ferdinand summoned him to form the first independent and responsible Cabinet. While in office, he strictly adhered to the Constitution of the country, and to the laws which the King's oath had made doubly sacred. When the intentions of the Court became more manifest, and the dangers which threatened Hungary more imminent, he repaired repeatedly to the King's Court at Innspruck, where he was each time imposed upon by the most loyal assurances, by energetic decrees against the "traitor" Jellachich, and in favor of the Hungarian administration.*

When, in consequence of these disgraceful

* The same hand which penned these decrees fostered the insurrections of Croatia and Servia, and enabled Jellachich's army to invade Hungary.

intrigues, the Hungarian Cabinet was compelled to abdicate, the duties of the Government were, by the command of the Palatine, and with the King's consent, given into his hands. In a time of unequalled difficulty and danger, he protected the nation to the best of his abilities, and these abilities were great. He was alive to the dangers which must accrue from the disappointment and the vexation of the people, when they found they had been imposed upon by the King: he attempted to repress the movement of their passions, for he knew that the popular passions, if once unfettered, cannot possibly be pressed back within the limits of the law; and he sought, at any price, unless it were at the cost of his honor, his patriotism, and at the expense of the confidence of the people, to negotiate and interfere between the nation and the King. For this purpose he left Pesth in the last days of September, 1848, for Vienna; but when he saw that all his endeavors were vain—when he saw that secret powers were at work to oppose and defeat all his steps, and that no benefit could accrue to the country from his struggles in that direction, he resigned his office, and retired to his estates in the county of Eisenburg.

When Jellachich invaded our country, Batthyányi entered the ranks of the National Guard, but a fall from his horse compelled him to give up all

thought of aiding the cause of Hungary in the field. In December, he returned to Pesth: he took part in the proceedings of the Parliament (which existed as much *de jure* as it did *de facto*); and, notwithstanding the insults he had received from the Court—notwithstanding the aspersions which the zealous members of the opposition cast at his endeavors to negotiate between the King and the country, he was untiring in pursuing that great and noble end.

He was a member of the deputation which the Parliament sent to the head-quarters of Prince Windischgrätz.* The Austrian General refused to see Count Batthyányi; and he told the other members of the deputation that he would not treat with rebels, and that nothing would satisfy him but the unconditional surrender of the capital and of the country. Count Batthyányi was arrested. When the Austrians entered Pesth, he was liberated on parole; but, shortly afterwards, he was again arrested, and tried by a court which, according to the constitution of the country, had no jurisdiction in his case, while the indictment was based upon laws which were not the laws of his country. For some time he was confined in Buda. When the Hungarian armies approached (in April, 1849), he was taken to

* 3rd January, 1849.

Oedenburg, and when that city too was threatened, to Laibach. After the surrender at Világos, he was again brought to Pesth, and arraigned before a new and formidable tribunal;—for the judges who tried his case in the first court declared him "*Not guilty*" of murdering Count Latour (for that was the crime of which he was accused), while no charges of high treason could be supported by his past public career.

His trial was long and mysterious. None of its details have as yet transpired, and nothing is known beyond its disgraceful result. That result was published in the following

"VERDICT.

"Whereas, Louis Count Batthyányi, a native "of Pressburg, forty years of age, a Roman "Catholic, and married man, has, partly by "his own confession and partly by legal evi- "dence, been convicted of having, in his "former quality as Prime Minister of Hun- "gary, taken, executed, or allowed the execu- "tion of, certain resolutions, which widely "transgress the administrative relations of "Hungary, as established by the laws of "March, and which have tended to loosen the "legal union, as established by the Pragmatic "Sanction, between Hungary and the Imperial "and Royal hereditary dominions, and which

" eventually caused the most threatening dan-
" gers, and the overthrow of the Constitution
" of the State: and whereas the said Louis
" Batthyányi, as aforesaid, has been convicted,
" as aforesaid, of having resigned his office as
" Minister on the 3rd of October last, and of
" having entered the army of the insurgents,
" and of having been a member of the Parlia-
" ment which was dissolved by His Majesty the
" King; and of having by these actions, jointly
" and severally traitorously aided, abetted, and
" supported the revolutionary party; and the said
" Louis Batthyányi having been found guilty
" of high treason, he, the said Louis Batthy-
" ányi, has been condemned to be hanged by
" the neck until death shall ensue: and this
" sentence having been confirmed and pub-
" lished, has been executed in the city of
" Pesth on this day, the 6th day of October,
" 1849.

" From the Imperial and Royal
Court House."

Every one of the accusations set forth in this warrant of murder is a libel on justice and truth! The Hungarian Constitution, which we regained in March, 1848; which, ever since the advent of the house of Hapsburg to the throne, was sworn to and confirmed, and, indeed, violated, by all the

kings of that family;—the Hungarian Constitution, which was solemnly recognized, established, and guaranteed by the Pragmatic Sanction, and by the laws of 1790 and 1791, is here mentioned as "an administrative relation," which, it is alleged, the Count "transgressed" by his resolutions. The serjeants and corporals of the Austrian court-martial do not, indeed, in happy ignorance of the Pragmatic Sanction and its bearings, quote the how, when, and wherefore of the crime of which they found their victim guilty?

The utter futility of these accusations must be evident to every man who has read the laws of 1848—laws which the Hungarian Cabinet never transgressed. The measures which they took to oppose Jellachich's threatened invasion of Hungary, were taken in strict obedience to the King's orders (orders which are on record!) for the King declared that the Ban, as a rebel and traitor, had forfeited all his honors, offices, and dignities. Nay, more! the King commanded Field-Marshal Lieutenant Hrabowsky to execute his decree against the Ban Jellachich.*

The Hungarian Cabinet sent indeed ambassadors to Frankfort. But these ambassadors were the bearers of credentials from the Palatine, Archduke Stephen. They were sent with the

* *See* the Documents in the Appendix.

express consent of the Austrian Cabinet: the Regent of Germany, Archduke John, received them as ambassadors of the Hungarian Government. This act of theirs cannot, therefore, be represented as a transgression of the limits of their legal power. But most revolting is the accusation against Count Batthyányi, that he "had loosened the union which the Pragmatic Sanction establishes between Hungary and the Austrian hereditary dominions, and of thus having caused the greatest danger of a violent overthrow of the Constitution," etc., etc. It is more than impertinent—it is *mean*, thus to shift the reproach from the shoulders of the guilty, and to burden it on the innocent. It was the Court which fomented an insurrection in Croatia. It was the Court which misled the Hungarian nation. It was the Court which finally sanctioned Jellachich's expedition into Hungary. It was Jellachich who, with the consent of the Court, intended to march to Pesth and to dissolve the Parliament with bayonets and artillery. It was the Palatine who, with the King's consent, took the command of the Hungarian army; it was the Palatine who left that army on the eve of battle. Thus abandoned, betrayed, and attacked by an army, not of soldiers, but of bandits, the nation had no choice but to oppose arms to arms, force to force, and violence to violence. But even at this juncture,

Batthyányi strained every nerve to negotiate a peace; and, unable to repress the fury of the incensed people, he proceeded to the camp of the Croats, to negotiate an armistice. It was at this very time that Lamberg made his appearance at Pesth, with orders to take the command of our army and to dissolve our Parliament. He fell a victim to the fury of the populace.

But in all this, where is Batthyányi's crime? Was he guilty of high treason for doing his duty as representative of the people? Was it because he enlisted in the army which was to drive the Croatians from his country? or is a tribunal of soldiers competent to judge of the official merits of a Minister?

Batthyányi heard the unjust sentence with tranquillity and composure; he took leave of his wife, and endeavored in the course of the night to open the veins of his neck, by means of a blunt paper-knife, and thus to escape the last indignity of what his persecutors called the "law." But his attempt was discovered, and, though he lost much blood, the surgeons succeeded in preserving his life. Still it was the opinion of the medical men, that the sentence, as pronounced by the court-martial, could not be executed. Only one of them protested that the execution could take place. The man who gave this disgraceful opinion was Dr. Bee, surgeon to the staff. But the

authority of his colleagues, and the humanity of Prince Lichtenstein, who commanded in Pesth, prevailed. The sentence was commuted to a soldier's death.

The official journals had, meanwhile, published the sentence, as though its execution had already taken place. The cities of Buda and Pesth were weighed down by the load of bitter grief; nor was their sorrow lessened when they learned that Batthyányi was still alive, for the news of his execution by "powder and lead" accompanied the intelligence. Many hoped for a pardon. They knew not the extent of Austrian vindictiveness.

The execution was to take place at six o'clock in the afternoon. The spot where Batthyányi was to breathe his last lay in front of the "Neugebäude."* Large masses of people crowded the space, for every one wished once again, and for the last time, to see that beloved and venerated face.

At the appointed time, the doors of the prison in the "Neugebäude" were thrown open, and Count Batthyányi left his cell, leaning on the chaplain of his friend Stephen Károlyi. He was weak with the loss of blood, but his face was serene, his bearing majestic. His eyes were bound up. He raised his hands, and with his last words—"*Eljen a' haza!*"—"God bless the country!"—rang the reports of three rifles, and

* *See* Appendix.

Louis Batthyányi had ceased to breathe. He died as he lived—calm, majestic, and innocent—worshipped by his nation, respected by the world, and leaving his assassins to the just detestation of posterity.*

Nothing can be more characteristic of the barbarity of his enemies, than the fury of Haynau (who, in passing the sentence, was evidently the instrument of other actors) when he learnt that the revenge of his masters had been foiled of at least part of its prey.

Batthyányi's possessions were confiscated. His wife and children left the country of their fathers for a foreign land, there to weep, and there to remember!

II.

"Ernest Kiss, of Ellemer and Ittebe,
"a native of Temeshvar, in the Banat, forty-
"nine years of age, a Roman Catholic; a
"widower, childless; late Colonel and Com-
"mander of the Hanover Hussars; Knight
"Grand Cross of the Hanoverian Order, and
"Knight of the Pope's Order of Christ; has
"been convicted, partly by his own confes-
"sion, of having, in contempt of His Majesty's
"Manifesto of the 3rd of October, 1848, de-
"stroying the legal existence of the Hungarian

* See Appendix.

" Parliament and Cabinet, and declaring the " country to be in a state of siege; and in " contempt of the orders of His Majesty's " Commander-in-chief in the Banat, instructing " him to march his troops back to Temeshvar, " traitorously and feloniously kept the said " troops in the ranks of the rebel army; of " having accepted the promotion to the posts of " General and Field-Marshal-Lieutenant at the " hands of the Rebel Government; of having " likewise accepted a certain order which was " founded by that Government; and of having, " on the 4th of February, of that year, taken " the part of a Commander of the country, and " of having continued in this office even after " the Debrezin Diet, on the motion of Louis " Kossuth, declared, on the 14th of April, the " secession of Hungary from the Austrian " monarchy, and the exclusion of the supreme " reigning dynasty.

" In consequence of these facts, the said " Ernest Kiss, having been found guilty of high " treason, and, according to sect. 5 of the " Articles of War, in connection with Art. 61 of " the Military Penal Code, and according to " the Manifestoes of the 3rd and 20th of Oc- " tober, and of the 6th of November, 1848, and " according to the Proclamation of the 12th of " November, 1848, and the 1st of July, 1849,

" he, the said Ernest Kiss, has been tried by
" court-martial, on the 21st of September, of
" this year, and declared to be degraded from
" his rank of Colonel, and of having forfeited
" all his moveable and immoveable property,
" and sentenced to death by means of powder
" and lead."

General Kiss was among the bravest leaders of the Hungarian army. He distinguished himself in the war in the Banat (1848); in September of that year, he took part in the expedition against Jellachich; and in February, March, and April, 1849, he fought gallantly against the Austrian army. In the Banat campaign, he suffered an enormous loss of his private property, for the insurgent Razen devastated and destroyed his estates and castles, and plundered his property at Temeshvar. But notwithstanding these losses, he remained faithful to the cause of the country. Though accustomed to all the luxuries of life, he courted privations and fatigue. Noble and generous in his dealings with others, he was but too easy a prey to the hypocrisy of our enemies; and in September, when sentence of death had already been pronounced against him, he was induced, in a letter to the garrison of Komorn, to represent his own condition and that of his comrades in a favorable light. He and three other

officers were executed in the fortress of Arad, early on the morning of the 6th of October. He was calm and resigned to the last, and died as a martyr to his loyalty and to his principles. His estates, to the amount of many millions of florins, were confiscated. The desire of revenge which animated our enemies, was, in his instance, sharpened by their rapacity. General Kiss was liberal in thought, and liberal in action. When in the Austrian service, he had obliged many of his comrades by lending them large sums of money. Prince Schwarzenberg paid the debts of his champions by murdering their creditor. This is indeed a new way of paying old debts.

III.

"Louis Aulich,

"a native of Pressburg, in Hungary; fifty-
"seven years of age; a Roman Catholic;
"unmarried; late Lieutenant-Colonel in the
"Alexander Grenadiers, having been convicted
"by the evidence of witnesses, and by his own
"confession, of having, in contempt of the oath
"he took on entering the Imperial army, never
"to take arms against the most high Imperial
"Family, joined the Hungarian Rebellion
"against His Majesty the Emperor's authority;
"of having served in the rebel army as General
"and Commander of a corps; and having, for

" his services in the cause of rebellion, been " rewarded with, and having accepted, an order " at the hands of the Rebel Government; and, " further,—

" The said Louis Aulich having been con- " victed of having assisted in the struggles of " the Rebels for the execution of the Resolu- " tions of the Debrezin Diet of the 14th of " April, of the current year, which said Reso- " lutions tended to separate Hungary from His " Majesty the Emperor's dominions, and to " exclude the most high and Reigning Dynasty, " by remaining in his place and continuing in " his command under the Rebel Government,—

" The said Louis Aulich has been tried by " Court-martial, on the 26th of September, and " declared to be guilty of high treason; and, " according to sect. 5 of the Articles of War, " and the 61st Article of the Code of Maria " Theresa, and according to the Imperial Ma- " nifesto of the 3rd and 20th of October, and " the 6th of November, 1848, and according to " the Proclamations of the 12th of November, " 1848, and 1st of July, 1849, the said Louis " Aulich has been deposed from his office as a " Lieutenant-Colonel in the Austrian army, and " condemned to die by the rope; while his " moveable and immoveable property is for- " feited to His Majesty the Emperor."

generals of the Hungarian army. Even before the movements in March, 1848, he was a bold and zealous champion of the Hungarian cause. He was a soldier and a patriot. At a later period, when he belonged to the garrison of Temeshvar, he carried on a fierce opposition against the abuses which the military authorities of that place fostered, in contempt of the decrees of the King and the cabinet. He was, in consequence, sent to Italy; but the Hungarian Government protected him, by promoting him to the rank of Major in the third honved battalion. He returned from Italy, and took the command of this battalion, which, under his command, gave so many proofs of an adventurous bravery. It was in consequence of the events at Temeshvar that he was honored with the personal dislike of General Haynau, who at that time made an unsuccessful attempt to ruin him.

In his quality as major of a battalion, Damjanich gave signal proofs of gallantry and of his distinguished military talents. He was just and severe, and his battalion, and, at a later period, the corps under his command, loved him as a father.

In November and December, 1848, having been promoted to the ranks of Lietenant-Colonel and Colonel, he, with the Generals Kiss and Vetter, commanded the corps against, and assisted in reducing, the Servians in the Banat. In the months of February, March, and April, 1849, he

was General and Commander of the third corps, and fought with great distinction in the battles of Szolnok, Tapio-Bicski, Isaszeg, and Nagy-Sarló. After the relief of Komorn, he broke his foot by a fall from his carriage, and this accident disabled him during the most important and arduous period of the war.

When our troops evacuated Pesth for the second time, (in July, 1849,) he was taken to Arad. That fortress had just fallen into our hands. Damjanich took the command, and caused it to be placed in an efficient state of defence. Though still suffering from his accident, he displayed an astonishing activity. He was at all times distinguished by calmness, courage, and composure, even in the midst of danger; and these qualities, combined with his patriotism, and his proficiency in the military sciences, ensured victory wherever he commanded.

When, after Görgey's surrender at Világos, the Austrians entered the cities of old and new Arad, and summoned him to surrender, he returned the curt reply: "This fortress will not negotiate!" Another messenger was sent, who informed him of the manner and the extent of Görgey's surrender. Damjanich replied to a second invitation to name his terms: "This fortress surrenders to a Russian Cossak, but it will fight to the last against the whole Austrian army!" The Russian General Buturlin was consequently instructed to negotiate

with, and to occupy the fortress, and a capitulation was agreed upon, according to which, the officers and men of the garrison should be free to leave the fortress and to retain their private property. Damjanich left the fortress; but in flagrant violation of the terms of the capitulation he was arrested, taken back to Arad, and sentenced to death. The fracture of his leg prevented him from walking; he was therefore placed in a carriage and taken to the scaffold, where, for four hours, he was a spectator of the execution and the death struggles of his friends. He bore all and everything, even the ill-treatment to which his suffering limb was subjected, with the greatest composure. Once only he made a remark: "It is strange," said he, "that I should be the last here—I used to be first in the attack!" He died as a victim of Austrian hate* and of the disloyalty of a Russian General. He was a generous patriot, a trusty friend, and an able general.

V.

JOSEPH NAGY SÁNDOR,

"a native of Gross Wardein, county of Bihar, "in Hungary, forty-five years of age, a Roman "Catholic, unmarried, a cavalry captain on "half-pay, having been convicted of having, in "contempt of the oath which he took on en- "tering the Imperial army, never to take arms

* Odia in longum jacens quæ conderent auctaque promerent."

" against the High Imperial family, feloniously " and maliciously taken part in the Hungarian " insurrection against His Majesty the Em- " peror's authority, and of having, as General " and Commander of a corps, led his troops " against the Emperor's army; and of having, " for his services in the cause of rebellion, " been rewarded with, and having accepted, an " order at the hands of the Rebel Government; " and, further—

" The said Joseph Nagy Sándor having been " convicted of having assisted in the struggles " of the rebels for the execution of the Reso- " lutions of the Debrezin Diet of the 14th " April inst., which said Resolutions tended to " separate Hungary from His Majesty the Em- " peror's dominions, and to exclude the Most " High and Reigning Dynasty, by remaining in " his place and continuing in his command " under the Rebel Government:

" In the court-martial held on the 21st Sep- " tember instant, the said culprit, Joseph Nagy " Sándor, having been found guilty of the crime " of high treason, according to sect. 5 of the " Articles of War, and the 61st Article of the " Code of Maria Theresa, and according to the " Imperial Manifesto of the 3rd and 20th " October, and the 6th November, 1848, and " according to the Proclamations of the 12th " November, 1848, and 1st July, 1849, he,

"the said Joseph Nagy Sándor, has been
"condemned to be hanged by the neck until
"death shall ensue; and this sentence having
"been confirmed and published, has been exe-
"cuted in the fortress of Arad, on this day,
"the 6th day of October, 1849.

"From the Imperial and Royal
Court-martial."

Nagy Sándor, who was formerly a captain in the second hussars, had left the Austrian service with a pension, when the Hungarian Government made him commander of the yeomanry of the county of Pesth. He assisted in the expedition against the Razen, and served with distinction in the Banat. At a later period, as colonel and commander of a division, he took part in the campaign from the Theiss to Komorn. He was appointed to the command of the first corps, assisted in the siege of Buda, and was the first to scale the walls of that fortress. After the conquest of Buda he operated on the Upper Danube and the Waag. On the 13th July, he accompanied Görgey's expedition to Waitzen, Debrezin, and Arad. It was only on the 12th of August that he (and his corps with him) assented to the surrender of Világos. A captive to the Austrians, like his comrades, he was taken from Sarkad to Arad, where he was tried, sentenced, and executed. Nagy Sándor was an able soldier, of great

scientific attainments; he was devoted to his country, and he was among the few generals who voted for a republican form of government. He met his fate with calmness and fortitude. His last words were—"*Hodie mihi—cras tibi!*"

VI.

IGNATZ TÖRÖK,

"a native of Gödöllö, in the county of Pesth "in Hungary, fifty-four years of age, a Roman "Catholic, unmarried, late Lieutenant-colonel "in the corps of Imperial Engineers, and in the "last time director of the fortifications in the "fortress of Komorn, having been convicted of "having, in contempt of the oath which he "took on entering the Imperial army, never "to take arms against the high and Reigning "Dynasty, maliciously and feloniously joined "the Hungarian Rebellion against His Ma-"jesty the Emperor's authority, and of having "in the rebel army, during the siege of the "fortress of Komorn, for a time officiated as "commander of that fortress, and of having at "a later period assisted in the construction of "the entrenchments of Gran and Szegedin, "and of having accepted his promotion to the "rank of general—

"The said culprit, Lieutenant-colonel Török, "having moreover been convicted of having

" assisted in the struggles of the rebels for the
" execution of the Resolutions of the Debrezin
" Diet of the 14th of April, of the current
" year, which said Resolutions tended to sepa-
" rate Hungary from His Majesty the Em-
" peror's dominions, and to exclude the most
" high and Reigning Dynasty, by remaining in
" his place and continuing in his command
" under the Rebel Government:

" The said Török has, on the 26th Septem-
" ber, been tried by court-martial, and having
" been found guilty of high treason, he has,
" according to Article 5 of the Articles of War,
" and the 61st Article of the Code of Maria
" Theresa, and according to the Imperial
" Manifesto of the 3rd and 20th October, and
" the 6th November, 1848, and according to
" the Proclamations of the 12th November,
" 1848, and 1st July, 1849, the said Ignatz
" Török has been degraded from the rank
" of Lieutenant-colonel which he held in the
" Austrian army, and sentenced to die by the
" rope; while the whole of his personal and
" real property is forfeited to His Majesty the
" Emperor."

Török received his education in the Vienna academy of engineers. He had grown old in the Austrian service. From the year 1838 to 1846, he was major and second Wacht-meister in the

Hungarian noble guards, and professor of engineering and fortification. Among his pupils were many of the Hungarian generals of 1849, and among them Görgey and Klapka. From the Hungarian guards Török was sent to Lemberg as local director, and at a later period, when promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, he was sent to Carlstadt as district director of Croatia. When the Hungarian Government was, at the king's command, placed in possession of the fortress of Komorn, the Vienna General Board of Engineers commanded Török to proceed to Komorn, and take the direction of that fortress. He took his oath on the Hungarian constitution, took an active part in the fortification and defence of Komorn in autumn, 1848, and in the first months of the year 1849. At a later period, he assisted in demolishing the fortifications of Buda. He fortified Szegedin, and showed great zeal and perseverance. When Görgey surrendered at Világos, Török relied on the "generosity" of Austria. He fell a victim to his confidence, and to the oath which he had taken at the express command of King Ferdinand.

VII.

George Lahner,

"a native of Neusohl, in the county of

" Sohl in Hungary, fifty-three years of age,
" married, father of one child, late major in the
" Franz Count Gyulay musketeers, having been
" convicted by the evidence of witnesses, and
" by his own confession, of having, in contempt
" of the oath he took on entering the Imperial
" army, never to take arms against the most
" high Imperial Family, joined the Hungarian
" Rebellion against His Majesty the Emperor's
" authority; of having served in the rebel army
" as General and Commissioner of Ordnance
" and Stores; and having, for his services in
" the cause of rebellion, been rewarded with,
" and having accepted, an order at the hands of
" the Rebel Government; and, further,—

" The said George Lahner having been
" convicted of having assisted in the struggles
" of the Rebels for the execution of the Reso-
" lutions of the Debrezin Diet of the 14th of
" April, of the current year, which said Reso-
" lutions tended to separate Hungary from His
" Majesty the Emperor's dominions, and to
" exclude the most high and Reigning Dynasty,
" by remaining in his place and continuing in
" his command under the Rebel Government,—

" The said George Lahner has been tried
" by court-martial, on the 26th September, and
" declared to be guilty of high treason; and,
" according to sect. 5 of the Articles of War,

" and the 61st Article of the Code of Maria
" Theresa, and according to the Imperial Ma-
" nifesto of the 3rd and 20th October, and the
" 6th November, 1848, and according to the
" Proclamations of the 12th November, 1848,
" and 1st July, 1849, the said George Lahner
" has been deposed from his office as a Major
" in the Austrian army, and condemned to die
" by the rope; while his moveable and immove-
" able property is forfeited to His Majesty the
" Emperor."

Lahner served in the wars with France in 1813-15. When the Servian insurrection broke out, he was in the south as major and commander of the third battalion of the Hungarian regiment, Franz Count Gyulay, No. 33. He took a distinguished part in the war against the Servians, and when the order for military merit was founded, he was honored by receiving the second-class cross of that order. At the end of September, 1848, the War-office summoned him to Buda and appointed him to the direction of the department for the manufactory and distribution of arms. He displayed the greatest energy at Pesth, as well as at Buda, and afterwards in the establishments at Great Warasdin, where he remained to the end of the war. He lived for his country, and died on the gallows.

VIII.

CHARLES COUNT VÉCSEY,

" a native of Pesth in Hungary, forty-two " years of age, married, childless, late major " in the King of Hanover hussars, and one of " His Majesty the Emperor's chamberlains, " having been convicted by the evidence of " witnesses and by his own confession, of having " feloniously and maliciously taken part in the " Hungarian insurrection against the Emperor's " authority, and of having, as general and com- " mander of a corps, led his troops against His " Majesty the Emperor's army; of having block- " aded His Majesty's troops in the fortresses of " Arad and Temeshvar; of having himself con- " ducted the siege of the latter fortress up to the " time of its final relief in the month of August " instant; and of having, by these acts, feloni- " ously and maliciously contrived to do great " harm and detriment to His Majesty the " Emperor's buildings and to the property of " sundry private persons:

" In the court-martial held on the 21st Sep- " tember instant, the said culprit Charles Vécsey, " having been found guilty of the crime of high " treason, according to sect 5 of the Articles " of War, and the 61st Article of the Code of " Maria Theresa, and according to the Imperial " Manifesto of the 3rd and 20th October, and

"the 6th November, 1848, and according to "the Proclamations of the 12th November, "1848, and 1st July, 1849, the said Charles "Vécsey has been deposed from his office as a "Major in the Austrian army, and condemned "to die by the rope; while his moveable and "immoveable property is forfeited to His Ma- "jesty the Emperor."

Vécsey, who in October, 1848, was promoted from the rank of major to a lieutenant-colonelcy and colonelcy in his regiment, set his officers an excellent example of boldness and determination. He was at all times a zealous advocate of the cause of the country, and a champion of the constitution. But the greatest merit attaches to his services in the Báts county and the Banat. When the late Austrian—but essentially Hungarian—troops of the line were on the point of being misled by some unworthy sons of their country (the General Esterhàzy and Colonel Nàdosy), he most energetically took the lead of the troops and preserved their services to the country. Having been appointed to the command of a corps, he defended the line of the Theiss, conquered and reduced the fortress of Arad, and blockaded Temeshvar, until he learned that the united Russian and Austrian armies had routed our forces under Dembinski. His troops were at all times distinguished by discipline and order,

and even after the rout of the army at Temeshvar, he removed his corps with the greatest order, and admitted of its dispersion only when it was on the road to Great Warasdin. In the latter city he surrendered to the Russians, who sent him to Arad, and consequently to the scaffold.

IX.

Charles Knezich,

" a native of Velike-Gajowatz, in the border " regiment of Warasdin and St. George, forty- " one years of age, a Roman Catholic, married, " father of two children, late captain in the " 41st musketeers, having been convicted by " the evidence of witnesses, and by his own " confession, of having, in contempt of the oath " he took on entering the Imperial army, never " to take arms against the most high Imperial " Family, joined the Hungarian Rebellion " against His Majesty the Emperor's authority; " of having served in the rebel army as General " and Commander of a corps; and having, for " his services in the cause of rebellion, been " rewarded with, and having accepted, an order " at the hands of the Rebel Government; and, " further,—

" The said Charles Knezich having been " convicted of having assisted in the struggles " of the Rebels for the execution of the Reso- " lutions of the Debrezin Diet of the 14th of

" April, of the current year, which said Reso-
" lutions tended to separate Hungary from His
" Majesty the Emperor's dominions, and to
" exclude the most high and Reigning Dynasty,
" by remaining in his place and continuing in
" his command under the Rebel Government,—
" The said Charles Knezich has been tried
" by court-martial, on the 26th September, and
" declared to be guilty of high treason; and,
" according to sect. 5 of the Articles of War,
" and the 61st Article of the Code of Maria
" Theresa, and according to the Imperial Ma-
" nifesto of the 3rd and 20th October, and
" the 6th November, 1848, and according to
" the Proclamations of the 12th November,
" 1848, and 1st July, 1849, the said Charles
" Knezich has been deposed from his office as
" Captain in the Austrian army, and con-
" demned to die by the rope; while his move-
" able and immoveable property is forfeited
" to His Majesty the Emperor."

Knezich was a borderer by birth, and as such a subject of the Hungarian crown; and his marriage with a Hungarian lady, and his services in a Hungarian regiment, bound him still more to our country. He knew his duty, and was resolved in its execution.

In the commencement of the campaign he distinguished himself as captain and major; but

in the expedition on the Theiss, and to Komorn, he took part as colonel and commander of a division. At Komorn he displayed great resolution and gallantry, in consequence of which he was promoted to the rank of general and commander of a corps, and he was decorated with the second class of the order of Military Merit. He fought at Buda, at the head of the gallant third corps. In July and August, he commanded under Meszaros and Dembinski, on the banks of the Theiss. He joined the capitulation of the 13th of August, and was hanged on the 6th of October.

X.

" Ernest Pölt von Pöltenberg,
" a native of Vienna, in Austria; thirty-five
" years of age; a Roman Catholic; married;
" father of three children; late captain and
" commander of an escadron in the Alexander
" Hussars, having been convicted by the evi-
" dence of witnesses, and by his own confession,
" of having, in contempt of the oath he took on
" entering the Imperial army, never to take
" arms against the most high Imperial Family,
" joined the Hungarian Rebellion against His
" Majesty the Emperor's authority; of having
" served in the Rebel Army as General and
" Commander of a corps; and having, for his
" services in the cause of rebellion, been re-

" warded with, and having accepted, an order " at the hands of the Rebel Government; and, " further,—

" The said Ernest Pölt von Pöltenberg having " been convicted of having assisted in the strug- " gles of the Rebels for the execution of the Re- " solutions of the Debrezin Diet of the 14th of " April, of the current year, which said Reso- " lutions tended to separate Hungary from His " Majesty the Emperor's dominions, and to " exclude the most high and reigning Dynasty " by remaining in his place and continuing in " his command under the Rebel Government,—

" The said Ernest Pölt Von Pöltenberg has " been tried by Court-martial, on the 26th of " September, and declared to be guilty of high " treason; and, according to sect. 5 of the " Articles of War, and the 61st Article of the " Code of Maria Theresa, and according to the " Imperial Manifesto of the 3rd and 20th of " October, and the 6th of November, 1848, and " according to the Proclamations of the 12th of " November, 1848, and 1st of July, 1849, the " said Ernest Pölt Von Pöltenberg has been " deposed from his office as a captain and " commander in the Austrian army, and con- " demned to die by the rope; while his moveable " and immoveable property is forfeited to His " Majesty the Emperor."

Pöltenberg, a well-instructed and gentlemanly man, accompanied his regiment, in summer, 1848, to Hungary. Obedient to the command of the Hungarian Cabinet, and to the orders of the chief of his regiment, the Field-Marshal-Lieutenant Lamberg, he took his oath to the Hungarian Constitution, and, from that time forward, he took an active part in the combats of the country to which his oath and honor, though not his birth, bound him. He was promoted successively to the ranks of major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel in his regiment; he took part in the expedition on the Theiss, and to Komorn. When Görgey's troops marched upon Buda, he remained at Raab, as commander of the seventh corps, to observe the movements of the hostile army. At the end of May he was general, and in the course of Görgey's retreat to Arad and Világos, he commanded the third corps. According to the instructions of the Government, and at the command of Szemere, Count Casimir Batthyányi, and Görgey, he went to negotiate with the Russians, but he returned with a very unsatisfactory reply. Still the impression on his mind was, that the Russians were deserving of confidence, and he consequently exhorted the Council of War at Arad, on the 11th of August, to surrender to the Russians. His confidence, loyalty, and devotion, were rewarded with death.

XI.

" CHARLES, COUNT LEININGEN-WESTERBURG,

" a native of Illenstadt, in the Grand Duchy " of Hessen; thirty years of age; a Lutheran; " married; late captain in the thirty-first regi- " ment of the line—having been convicted, " partly by the evidence of witnesses, and partly " by his own confession, of having, unmindful " of the oath he took on entering the Imperial " Army, never to take arms against the most " high Imperial Family, joined the Hungarian " Rebellion against His Majesty the Emperor's " authority; of having served in the Rebel " Army as General and Commander of a " corps; and having, for his services in the " cause of rebellion, been rewarded with, and " having accepted, an order at the hands of the " Rebel Government; and, further,—

" The said Charles Count Leiningen-Wester- " burg having been convicted of having assisted " in the struggles of the Rebels for the exe- " cution of the Resolutions of the Debrezin " Diet of the 14th of April, of the current year, " which said Resolutions tended to separate " Hungary from His Majesty the Emperor's " dominions, and to exclude the most high and " Reigning Dynasty, by remaining in his place

" and continuing in his command under the " Rebel Government,—

" The said Charles Count Leiningen-Wester- " burg has been tried by court-martial, on the " 26th of September, and declared to be guilty " of high treason; and, according to sect. 5 of " the Articles of War, and the 61st Article of " the Code of Maria Theresa, and according to " the Imperial Manifesto of the 3rd and 20th " of October, and the 6th of November, 1848, " and according to the Proclamations of the " 12th of November, 1848, and 1st of July, 1849, " the said Charles Count Leiningen-Westerburg " has been deposed from his office as a captain " in the Austrian Army, and condemned to die " by the rope; while his moveable and immove- " able property is forfeited to His Majesty the " Emperor."

Leiningen was a scion of an old German family, and one which at all times had been a zealous supporter of the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine. His marriage with a Hungarian lady, and his estates in our country, bound him to Hungary. He served, moreover, in a Hungarian regiment, which was named after his uncle, the Imperial Field-Marshal-Lieutenant Count Leiningen. At the commencement of the civil war he was a captain on leave in our country, and he at once resolved

to support the cause of the country of his adoption. The gallantry for which his family is renowned, distinguished him in many battles and skirmishes, especially on the 11th of April, at Waitzen, and in the assault of Buda. In the course of the war, he was successively promoted to the ranks of major, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, general, and commander of a corps. He was a great admirer of Görgey, to whose person he was attached in the last period of the war, and on whose innocence he pledged his word, even on the way to the scaffold. He consented to the surrender at Világos, and atoned for his error at Arad, on the 6th of October, 1849.

XII.

"JOSEPH SCHWEIDEL,

"a native of Zombor, in the county of Bács, "in Hungary; fifty-three years of age; a "Roman Catholic; married; father of five "children; formerly a major in the Alexander "Hussars—having been convicted, by the evi- "dence of witnesses, and by his own confession, "of having, unmindful of the oath he took on "entering the Austrian Army, that he would "never appear in arms against the Supreme "Imperial Family, joined the Hungarian Rebel- "lion against His Majesty the Emperor's

" authority; and of having taken part in the " combats of the Rebel troops, against the " Imperial Army—viz., though, after the battle " of Schwechat, in which he took part, his " demand of leave of absence was complied " with, still the said Joseph Schweidel has been " convicted of having accepted the post of a " general, and in the month of May last, the " post of a commander of Pesth, at the hands " of the Rebel Government; and of having, on " the approach of the Austrian troops, followed " the said Rebel Government,—

" And further, the said Joseph Schweidel has " been convicted of having taken part in the " struggles of the Rebels for the execution of " the Resolutions of the 14th of April, of the " Debrezin Diet, the said Resolutions pretend- " ing to effect the secession of Hungary from " the hereditary dominions of His Majesty the " Emperor, and the exclusion of the supreme " reigning Dynasty; and of having, by remain- " ing at his post, and continuing to serve " under the Rebel Government, given his free " consent to the same; in consequence of which " the said Joseph Schweidel having been tried " by Court-martial, at Arad, on the 26th of " September, instant, has been found guilty of " high treason; and, according to sect. 5 of the " Articles of War, and the 61st Article of the

"Code of Maria Theresa, and according to the "Imperial Manifesto of the 3rd and 20th of "October, and of the 6th of November, 1848, "and according to the Proclamations of the "12th of November, 1848, and 1st of July, "1849, the said Joseph Schweidel has been "deposed from his office as a major in the "Austrian Army, and condemned to die by the "rope; while his moveable and immoveable "property is forfeited to His Majesty the "Emperor."

Joseph Schweidel, the father of five children, was, by command of the Austrian Government, forced to leave Vienna, and to accompany his regiment to Hungary, where he took his oath on the Hungarian Constitution. In the course of the winter of 1848 he was on leave of absence, but in April he was appointed to the command of the city of Pesth, and afterwards to the command of Szegedin. He accompanied the Government to Arad, and the army to Világos and Sarkad, where he was arrested, and taken back to Arad. Although he took little or no part in the war, and although he had the claims of a service of thirty years on the Austrian Government, he was sentenced to death, and died with the conviction of having been true to his oath and to his country.

The above-mentioned ELEVEN sentences of

death, against the Generals Kiss, Aulich, Damjanitsh, Nagy Sándor, Török, Lahner, Count Vécsey, Knezich, Pöltenberg, Count Leiningen, and Schweidel, having been confirmed by the Commander-in-chief of the Austrian army in Hungary, the Feldzeug-Meister, Baron Haynau, the said sentences were, on the 6th of October, 1849, executed in the fortress of Arad.

XIII.

Aristides Desewffy,

" a native of Csakacz, in the county of " Abanjvár, in Hungary; forty-seven years of " age; of the Evangelical religion; married; " formerly a captain, and pensioned since the " year 1839—having been convicted by the " evidence of witnesses, and by his own confes- " sion, of having, in contempt of the oath he " took on entering the Imperial army, never to " take arms against the most high Imperial " Family, joined the Hungarian Rebellion " against His Majesty the Emperor's authority; " of having served in the rebel army as General " and Commander of a corps; and having, for " his services in the cause of rebellion, been " rewarded with, and having accepted, an order " at the hands of the Rebel Government; and, " further,—

" The said Aristides Desewffy having been " convicted of having assisted in the struggles " of the Rebels for the execution of the Reso- " lutions of the Debrezin Diet of the 14th of " April, of the current year, which said Reso- " lutions tended to separate Hungary from His " Majesty the Emperor's dominions, and to " exclude the most high and Reigning Dynasty, " by remaining in his place and continuing in " his command under the Rebel Government,—

" The said Aristides Desewffy has been tried " by court-martial, on the 26th of September, " and declared to be guilty of high treason; " and, according to sect. 5 of the Articles of " War, and the 61st Article of the Code of " Maria Theresa, and according to the Imperial " Manifesto of the 3rd and 20th of October, " and the 6th of November, 1848, and accord- " ing to the Proclamations of the 12th of " November, 1848, and 1st of July, 1849, the " said Aristides Desewffy has been deposed " from his office as a Captain in the Aus- " trian army, and condemned to die by the " rope; while his moveable and immoveable " property is forfeited to His Majesty the " Emperor."

Aristides Desewffy was a man of great patriotism, and a distinguished cavalry general. At the

commencement of the Hungarian movement, he joined his country's forces as major in a yeomanry regiment. His splendid abilities caused him to be promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and at the end of May, 1849, of general and commander of a corps in Upper Hungary, under General Visotzki. At a later period he accompanied this army to the Banat. After Görgey's surrender, he refused to leave his country, and to share the fate of many of his comrades who took refuge in Turkey. He surrendered to the Austrians, and his sentence was ultimately commuted into death by "powder and lead."

His gallant brother has been crippled in fighting the Austrian wars in Italy!

XIV.

William Lázár,

"a native of Great Betskerek, in the Banat, "thirty-four years of age; a Roman Catholic; "married; father of three children; formerly a "Lieutenant-Colonel, having been convicted by "the evidence of witnesses and by his own "confession, of having, in contempt of the oath "he took on entering the Imperial Army, never "to take arms against the most high Imperial "Family, joined the Hungarian Rebellion "against His Majesty the Emperor's authority; "of having served in the Rebel Army as Lieu-

" tenant-Colonel and Commander of a divi-
" sion; and having, for his services in the
" cause of rebellion, been rewarded with, and
" having accepted, an order at the hands of the
" Rebel Government; and, further,—

" The said William Lázár having been con-
" victed of having assisted in the struggles of
" the Rebels for the execution of the Resolu-
" tions of the Debrezin Diet of the 14th of
" April, of the current year, which said Reso-
" lutions tended to separate Hungary from His
" Majesty the Emperor's dominions, and to
" exclude the most high and Reigning Dynasty,
" by remaining in his place and continuing in
" his command under the Rebel Government,—

" The said William Lázár has been tried by
" court-martial, on the 26th of September, and
" declared to be guilty of high treason; and,
" according to sect. 5 of the Articles of War,
" and the 61st Article of the Code of Maria
" Theresa, and according to the Imperial Ma-
" nifesto of the 3rd and 20th of October, and
" the 6th of November, 1848, and according to
" the Proclamations of the 12th of November,
" 1848, and 1st of July, 1849, the said William
" Lázár has been condemned to die by the
" rope; while his moveable and immoveable
" property is forfeited to His Majesty the
" Emperor."

The sentences of death by hanging, which were pronounced against the General Desewffy and the Lieutenant-colonel Lázár, were, by way of grace, commuted into death by powder and lead. This is Austrian grace!

Besides the former, the following sentence was published and executed:

XV.

ANDREW GASPAR,

" a native of Kecskemet, in Hungary, forty-
" five years of age, of the reformed religion,
" father of two children, late captain and com-
" mander of an escadron in the Nicolaus Hus-
" sars, having likewise been convicted of having
" fought against His Majesty the Emperor's
" troops, and of having accepted the post of a
" general in the rebel army, but having sepa-
" rated from that army, so to say, at the moment
" he heard of the resolutions of the 14th April,
" of the Debrezin Diet, has been found guilty
" of having taken part in a rebellion, and
" according to Article sixty-one of the military
" penal code, and according to the penal laws
" of the 3rd July, 1790, he has been degraded
" from his rank of captain and knight of the
" Russian order of St. Wladimir, and he has
" been condemned to confinement in a fortress
" for a term of ten years.

This sentence likewise received the sanction of General Haynau.

This is the manner in which Austria celebrated the 6th October, 1849.

The executions which it has been my melancholy duty to record, were not enough to slake the Austrian thirst of revenge, and murder upon murder contributed to swell the lists of the victims of 1849. First among them stands Ladislaus Csányi, one of the noblest and purest characters that Hungary can boast of.

Ladislaus Csányi was born at Csany, in the year 1790. His father was a wealthy nobleman, in the county of Zala. When a very young man, Ladislaus Csányi entered the 5th hussars, and took part in the campaigns from 1809 to 1815. Disabled by a serious wound, he left the service in 1815. His natural talents, assisted by the experience he gained in practical life, and by a course of severe study, were soon worthily employed in the political contest of the time. Csányi, who acted in the narrower limits of his county, came in time to be a formidable champion of

constitutionalism against the encroachments of the reigning power. He assisted in carrying the election of Francis Déak—the representative of the liberal party; and it is owing to his popularity and influence that the deputies of the county of Zala received always the most liberal instructions. Csányi, too, was the first man who raised his warning voice to direct the attention of the nation to the movements in Croatia, and to the intrigues of the court in that province. The events of March, 1848, found him in Pesth, where he assisted Nyàry and Klauzàl in restraining and calming down the violence of public opinion. A new field of action was opened to him by the Government appointing him to accompany the army to the Drave, with instructions to observe the Croatian movement and to prevent an invasion. Csányi did all that man can do. He had but few regular troops under his command, but he raised a corps of 30,000 national guards and formed a *cordon*. He then resigned his command to General Oettinger—his comrade and friend of former times, but who in this instance betrayed the confidence thus shown to him, by his intrigues and final desertion to the enemy. The command thus vacated was given to Count Adam Teleki. The confusion caused by the invasion of Jellachich and the resignation of the cabinet, threw the care of the troops entirely on Csányi's hands;

and, moreover, he found himself surrounded by the intrigues of the officers of the regular troops, who wished to desert the cause of Hungary. Advised by these officers, General Teleki told Csányi that his situation was painful indeed; that in his position as general, he was compelled to lead the Emperor's troops against the Emperor, and he finished by entreating the commissioner to liberate him from the difficulties of his position by ordering him to be arrested. The promoters of the intrigue hoped, if Csányi arrested the General, to induce the troops to refuse to obey, and to go over to Jellachich. But Csányi, who saw the danger, refused to interfere, and the advent of the Palatine to the command of the army served to restore the spirit and confidence of the troops. After the victorious battle at Pakozd, Csányi followed the army to the Austrian frontier. He strongly recommended to pursue Jellachich into Austria, but his advice was not attended to; and when the Hungarian troops crossed the frontier at last, he took an active and highly creditable part in the unfortunate battle of Schwechat. In Pressburg, and in the course of Görgey's retreat to Buda, Csányi was instructed to provision the troops. He discharged the arduous duties of that office with his usual energy and honesty. By day and by night he provided for the necessities of the army. He

took no rest whatever, and at no time were the troops better and more amply cared for. In the course of the retreat to the Theiss, Csányi was among the last who left Pesth, and he had scarcely arrived at Debrezin, when he was appointed chief commissioner for Transylvania.

When, after the Repudiation Act of the 14th April, 1849, Louis Kossuth formed a new cabinet, he appointed Csányi to the ministry of public works. Csányi accepted the post; and in spite of the disturbed state of the country, he applied himself to its duties with the greatest activity. He continued the unfinished works on the Szolnok-Debrezin railway by means of the Austrian prisoners of war, who were thus made subservient to the wants of the country. But this useful course of action was of short duration. The Russian invasion compelled the Government to leave Pesth and to retreat to Szegedin. Csányi was again the last member of the cabinet who left Pesth; he superintended the removal of all the stores and provisions, and then he followed the Government to Szegedin, and from thence to Arad. After the surrender of Világos, Csányi was entreated to follow the example of his friends and to take refuge in Turkey, but he protested that he would remain where he was. "He would rather," he said, "be buried in his own country, than terminate his life in a foreign land." He was

arrested at Sarkad and brought to Great Warasdin, where he was given up to the Austrians, who immediately robbed him of his own property, and of the property of others which had been entrusted to his keeping. Csányi suffered this insult with silent resignation. He was next taken to Pesth, imprisoned in the "Neugebände," and tried by court-martial. He confronted his judges with dignity. He refused to deny any of his acts and measures; and he protested that his intentions had been pure, and that, to the best of his opinion, he had acted for the benefit of his country. On the 10th of October, 1849, he suffered death by the rope. With him died Baron Jessenák, who had likewise and most creditably acted as Government Commissioner in Upper Hungary. Csányi and Jessenák, like most of the victims of this heroic struggle, met their doom with firmness and composure. They died as the sons of liberty ought to die. Their memory will live in the hearts of the Hungarians to the last day of their national existence!

A few days earlier, old Baron Perenyi (late Septemvir, Lord-Lieutenant and President of the Upper House), Messrs. Szacsvay and Cseryns, Giron, Abancourt, and Prince Woroniecki, were executed (on the gallows) at Pesth. Colonel Kazinczy was shot at Arad.

Sentence of death was recorded against num-

bers of our countrymen, and the sentence in many cases commuted into the slow and lingering death of an Austrian prison.* The greatest brutalities were committed. Women were flogged.† Men of high rank and education were subjected to the most dishonorable punishment. More than 70,000 Hungarians who had taken part in the combat were forcibly enlisted in Austrian regiments. These and similar measures marked the track of the bloody tribunals of Austria. Nor were the men of Vienna remiss in looking to their own private advantage. All the sentences were accompanied with confiscations. The enormous amount of property which was thus declared to be "forfeited" shows how unfounded the assertions of the Austrians were, when they protested, that the Hungarian movement was caused by a few malcontents who wished to subvert social order, and who intended to establish a community of goods. Community of goods indeed! As if men like Batthyányi, Károlyi, Kiss, Csányi and Jessenák, men of large if not enormous wealth, could have sought their advantage in proclaiming such a doctrine!

Prince Schwarzenberg and his colleagues were placed in the same situation in which, a hundred and fifty years ago, we beheld Hoher and Lobko-

* See Silvio Pellico: 'Le Mie Prigione.'

† See Appendix.

vits under Leopold I. of bloody memory. Their measures were the same. The historian Hormayer says of that time :—"It is disgusting to read the transactions of the exceptional courts at Leutshau, Pressburg, Eperies, and Vienna. All men of property, quality, and influence were at once accused and arrested. Large though the prisons of Vienna were, they were found too small for the numbers of prisoners. The innocent children and heirs of the Wesselényis, Tökölys, Csákys, Vitnédys, Dobós, were robbed of their all. Austria remains always true to herself."

The verdicts of these latter days prove that Austria is in quest of property, and of good reasons for appropriating it. Though it may seem incredible, still it is true that Count George Károlyi, one of the richest men in Hungary, was fined to the amount of 150,000 florins (£15,000), for having shown an "*indecent* joy" when the Hungarian Government entered Pesth. The fact is, that being a major in the national guard, he mounted his horse and took his place at the head of his battalion.

The publication and execution of these sentences filled Hungary with horror, and all foreign countries with disgust and contempt for the Austrian dynasty and Government. The very Vienna journals protested against actions of such shocking cruelty. But public opinion in the press,

and in the parliaments of England, France, and North America, was most energetic and most scornful.

In France the cause of Hungary and her murdered sons was eloquently and impressively advocated by Victor Hugo, who addressed the Chamber on the subject. In the English Parliament Lord Dudley Stuart became the strenuous advocate of our rights, and the accuser of our oppressors. In America the cause of Hungary was energetically espoused by the President Taylor; and a motion was made in Congress tending to a rupture of diplomatic relations with Austria, since that country was dishonored by the cruelties which had been perpetrated in its name and with its sanction.

But Austria continued in the path of her iniquities. Dead to all the better feelings of humanity, the Vienna Cabinet cared little for the detestation of the world, so they could but succeed in excluding the manifestations of that detestation from their own discontented and reluctant subjects. Nay, more! They courted abasement, by volunteering to degrade themselves by an open breach of a public and solemn capitulation. The capitulation of Komorn shows the terms on which I surrendered that fortress, and foremost among them is the condition of a *free withdrawal* of the garrison. The agreement respecting the surrender of the fortress, which was signed by the

Austrian Field-Marshal-Lieutenant Nobili, provides expressly:

"Those among the men who desire to enlist
"in the Austrian service shall give notice of
"their intention before leaving: over and above
"the ten days' pay, they will receive a sum of
"money as bounty, if it is found that they are
"fit and proper for service."

In spite of paragraph I. of the capitulation, in spite of the proviso in the agreement of surrender, and in spite of the "warrants of safety" which were to protect the persons and property of my troops—the capitulation was flagrantly and impertinently broken by the Austrian authorities, and I was compelled to address the following letter to General Haynau:

"YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

"The complaints, which are daily becoming more loud, of a breach of the capitulation of Komorn, compel me to address this letter to your Excellency. You, as the *alter ego* of the Emperor, your master, have guaranteed by your word and handwriting the inviolability of that capitulation.

"You, and all other Austrian generals who besieged Komorn, know exactly what was the

principal motive which induced the victorious garrison of the fortress to capitulate. The Austrian negotiators were indefatigable in their assurances that the Emperor waited but for the surrender of the fortress to follow the innate instincts of his heart, to show mercy and clemency to our countrymen, and to those among our companions in arms who, relying on the generosity of the conqueror, had made an unconditional surrender.

"In corroboration of these assertions, it was alleged that the Emperor had sent the Count Grünne, his own Adjutant-General, to Arad, to stop the execution of the sentences of death which had been pronounced by the courts-martial sitting in that fortress; and the garrison of Komorn was induced to believe that their capitulation would release their friends, put a term to the state of martial law, and open the gates of the prisons. None of them had any idea that the only reason your Excellency had for urging the capitulation was, the desire to execute the bloody sentences against the doomed patriots unpunished and unavenged.

"I will not enlarge on these events. Public opinion speaks with a loud voice, and history will decide whether your Excellency has deserved well of the Emperor and the Austrian monarchy by the executions of Arad and Pesth.

"But I must raise my voice for those who have trusted your word of honor and your signature, and who have been deceived. The original document of the capitulation of Komorn is in my hands. It is my duty to inform you of every breach of that capitulation, and to insist on a strict observance of those conditions, which have been most disgracefully violated in the following cases:—

"Those among the garrison of Komorn who, after the unconditional amnesty granted to them, still insisted on leaving their country, have not received regular passports, which were due to them, but warrants of exile (*Zwangspässe*), which compelled them to emigrate to America, and which, although they had the visa of the Prussian Embassy, contained an express clause to the effect that they would never be permitted to return. They received these passports eight days after the surrender of the fortress: that is to say, at a time when no reclamations could possibly be made—while those who left the fortress previous to its formal surrender had no difficulty in obtaining passports from the Count Nobili, without any conditions or restrictions whatever.

"Messrs. Csapo, Borosh, Rutkay, and others, were arrested after the capitulation, and Messrs. Bangya and Hamvashy, who had obtained passports over the frontier, are mentioned in a pro-

clamation of the *Pesth Gazette* of the 3rd of January, as being guilty of the crime of high treason, and, under the allegation that they are running about and hiding themselves, they are summoned to appear before the court-martial within eighty days from the date of the proclamation. According to the terms of the capitulation, all these gentlemen ought to have a most unlimited amnesty.

"But still more general is the complaint, in which all reports and newspaper paragraphs agree, that, in spite of the provisions of paragraph I. of the capitulation, according to which every man of the garrison should be unconditionally allowed to proceed to, and remain in, his native place, the Honveds and Hussars have been summoned to come forward for the purpose of being enlisted in the Austrian regiments.

"Your Excellency cannot but remember that this point presented the chief difficulty in the capitulation. The unconditional dismissal of the Honveds was taken for granted by the term 'free withdrawal' (*freier Abzug*); but your Excellency insisted on enlisting the regiments of former soldiers of the line and of Hussars. We refused to concede this point, and at length you gave it up. I am aware that it has been attempted to interpret the words 'free withdrawal' into the meaning of temporary furlough; but that nothing of the kind

was either thought of or understood is proved by the fact, that by your direction the Generals Prince Colloredo, Burich, Barko, and others, appealed to the regiment of late Würtemberg Hussars, asking them, amidst the most enticing promises, to return to the Imperial army. Not one of the men came forward to respond to the summons, to the signal indignation of the said generals.

"The distinct terms of the capitulation, and the text of the safe conducts, promising 'safety of persons and properties,' admit not even of the possibility of a misinterpretation. Any pettifogging twisting and turning of the meaning of these words would be incompatible with the straightforwardness of military treaties; and to punish, by a forcible enlistment, the very men to whom a promise of the safety of their persons and properties was given, is dishonest, and consequently disgraceful.

"I cannot believe that such glaring violations of a solemn and authorised engagement can have been perpetrated with your knowledge, and much less by your command. I cannot believe that a soldier, no matter what his political opinions may be, could stoop to brand his profession and name by a deliberate breach of a solemn treaty. I cannot but believe that this high treason against military honor is the act of unconscientious para-

sites, whose minds are proof against the endless moral consequences of their crime.

" I appeal to your Excellency, and taking my stand on your word and signature, I direct you to provide for the inviolate maintenance of the capitulation of the fortress of Komorn. I appeal to you, and direct you to take measures to undo what your underlings have done, to make up for the violation of that capitulation, and to provide for the due delivery of passports to those among the garrison who wish to leave Austria for another country.

" But, if you take no notice of my just demands, you will compel me to resort to those moral weapons which alone are, at present, within my reach, and to protect at least the honor of those among my officers who were parties to, and who signed the capitulation of Komorn.

" I am,

" Your Excellency's obedient servant,

" GENERAL GEORGE KLAPKA.

" 20, Oxford Terrace,
" London, Feb. 6th, 1850."

CHAPTER VI.

THE HUNGARIAN ARMY.

THE Hungarian regiments, and the troops on the military frontier, were, before March, 1848, under the direction of the Vienna Hofkriegsrath. The kingdom of Hungary, with Transylvania, Croatia, and Sclavonia, furnished a contingent of fifteen regiments of the line (each regiment consisting of three battalions or eighteen companies), of twelve regiments of hussars (of four divisions and eight escadrons each), and of five battalions of grenadiers (of six companies each battalion). The territories of the military frontier, which, *de jure*, are a province of the Hungarian crown, and which extend from Dalmatia to Bukovina, and which (with the exception of the four Transylvania frontier regiments) form a large and homogenous extent of territory with several districts, are divided into eighteen regiments and battalions of Csaikists. These territories furnished, in time

of peace, a contingent of thirty-seven battalions, while in time of war their peculiar constitution facilitated a considerable increase of their force.

The Hungarian regiments which formerly made part of the Austrian army were the following:

I. INFANTRY REGIMENTS OF THE LINE.

In March, 1848, bearing the name of Alexander of Russia.

19th.—Prince Charles Schwarzenberg.
31st.—Count Leiningen Westerburg.
32nd.—Archduke of Este.
33rd.—Count Gyulay.
34th.—Prince of Prussia.
37th.—Michael, Grand Duke of Russia.
39th.—Don Miguel.
48th.—Archduke Ernest.
51st.—Archduke Charles Ferdinand.
52nd.—Archduke Francis Charles.
53rd.—Archduke Leopold.
60th.—Prince of Wasa.
61st.—Baron Rukawina.
62nd.—Chavalier de Turszki.

The recruits for the 2nd, 19th, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 37th, 39th, 48th, 52nd, 60th, and 62nd regiments, were furnished by Hungary; those of the 31st and 51st regiments came from Transylvania. The 53rd regiment was supplied by Croatia and Sclavonia, and the 61st by Hungary

and Transylvania. Each of these regiments consisted of three battalions. Attached to each, was one division of grenadiers (of two companies), who, in their aggregate, constituted the above-mentioned five battalions of grenadiers, of three divisions and six companies each. The battalions of grenadiers were named after their commanders.

II. THE BORDER REGIMENTS AND BATTALIONS.

The frontier of Banal, Warasdin, and Karlstadt, stood under the command of the Central Board at Agram. It was divided:

a. IN THE KARLSTADT BORDER DISTRICT.

Number of Regiment.	Name.	Residence of the Staff.
1st Borderers . .	Likka.	Gospich.
2nd	Ottocha. . . .	Ottochair.
3rd	Ogulin	Ogulin.
4th	Szluin	Karlstadt.

b. THE WARASDIN BORDER DISTRICT.

No. 5, Border regiment of Warasdin Kreutz.

No. 6, Border regiment of St. George.

The residence of the staff of these two regiments was at Bellovár.

c. THE BANAT BORDER DISTRICT.

1st Banal border regiment No. 10. Staff at Glina.
2nd „ „ 11. „ Petrinia.

III. THE SCLAVONIAN AND SYRMIAN FRONTIER.

With its Central Board in Peterwarasdin. It was subdivided into

a. THE SCLAVONIAN BORDER DISTRICT.

Brood regiment, No. 7. Staff at Vinkowicze.
Gradiska regiment, 8. „ New Gradiska.

b. THE SYRMIAN BORDER DISTRICT.

Peterwarasdin borderers, No. 9. Staff at Mitrovitz.

d. THE CSAKKIST BATTALION.

With a flotilla on the Danube and its staff at Titel.

IV. THE BANAT FRONTIER.

Under the Central Board at Temeshvár. It consisted of

German-Banat borderers, No. 12. Staff at Pancsova.
Wallach-Banat „ 13. „ Karansebes.
Illyrian-Banat „ 14. „ Weiszkirchen.

V. THE TRANSYLVANIAN FRONTIER.

Under the Central Board at Herrmannstadt. This frontier formed no districts, but stood in connexion with the administration of Transylvania. It formed

		Staff at
1st reg.	Szekler borderers, No.	14, Csik Szereda.
2nd „	„	15, Kezdi Vásárhely.
1st „	Wallachian borderers,	16, Orlat.
2nd „	„ „	17, Naszód.
1st	Szekler border hussars,	11, Sepsi St. György.

VI. THE CAVALRY.

The Hungarian cavalry force consisted formerly of the following twelve regiments of hussars:

No. 1,	named after	Emperor Ferdinand.
2,	„	King of Hanover.
3,	„	Archduke d'Este.
4,	„	Alexander Cesarewitsh.
5,	„	Count Radetzky.
6,	„	King of Würtemberg.
7,	„	Prince Reuss Kösteritz.
8,	„	Prince Coburg Cohâry.
9,	„	Emperor of Russia.
10,	„	King of Prussia.
11,	„	Szekler borderers.
12,	„	Palatinal hussars.

The 1st, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 12th regiments, were recruited from Hungary; the 2nd and 11th from Transylvania; and the 7th from Hungary, Croatia, and Sclavonia.

When the troops in Hungary were placed under the direction of the Hungarian War Office, we had (besides the border regiments) the following troops in Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, and Sclavonia.

INFANTRY.

Of the 2nd	Regiment	3	battalions.
19th	„	1	„
31st	„	1	„
32nd	„	1	„
33rd	„	1	„
34th	„	1	„
37th	„	1	„
39th	„	3	„
48th	„	1	„
51st	„	3	„
52nd	„	1	„
53rd	„	3	„
60th	„	1	„
61st	„	1	„
62nd	„	3	„
Grenadiers at Buda		1	„
„ at Herrmannstadt		1	„

CAVALRY.

1st	hussars	8	escadrons.
2nd	„	8	„
3rd	„	8	„
11th	„	8	„

The Vienna War Office sent afterwards two battalions of the 31st and 34th regiments from Gallicia, and two battalions of the 60th regiment from Vienna. Of hussars, that Office

sent us the 4th, 6th, 9th, and 10th regiments. One escadron of the 6th hussars, with Captain Lenkey, came at an earlier period, voluntarily, from Gallicia. The majority of the 8th hussars fought its way from Gallicia into Hungary, while the 12th regiment, under Captain (afterwards Colonel) Sreter and Lieutenant (afterwards Major) Virag, fought its way from Bohemia into Hungary, where they arrived after a series of skirmishes. Another division of the same regiment, which endeavored to march to Hungary, was assailed and hard pressed by the cuirassiers which were quartered in Bohemia. They were forced to take refuge on Prussian territory; and when the authorities of that kingdom prepared to surrender them to our oppressors, they were saved by the humanity of the inhabitants of the districts in which they sojourned, who assisted them in reaching their own country. Another detachment of this regiment reached Hungary in the spring of 1848. The troops which thus voluntarily joined our forces may be estimated at six escadrons.

The troops which from time to time had been distributed over the country, amounted to thirty-one battalions of infantry of the line, and two battalions of grenadiers, with seventy escadrons of hussars. To arrive, however, at a true estimate of our forces in the commencement of the war, it is necessary to take off the 31st, 51st, and 53rd

regiments, and the battalion of borderers at Herrmannstadt—a force of about ten battalions—for these troops were partly removed from the country, and part of them were in fortresses which were held by the Imperialist troops. Our army of Hungarian troops did not, therefore, muster more than twenty-one battalions, or 15,000 foot and 7000 horse—for many of the battalions and escadrons were lamentably deficient in numbers. The whole of the regiment Turszky, of three battalions, mustered no more than 800 men.

To these I ought to add the two regiments of Szeklers (4000 men)—though, with the exception of two battalions (1800 men), these troops remained in their own province. The frontier regiments of the Banat did not, after the month of October, 1848, make part of our force, for they were partly dispersed, partly sent to Italy, and the rest of them sided with the Imperialists.

The regiments of Croatian and Sclavonian borderers sided, of course, with the Ban of Croatia.

Of Austrian regiments there were in the country: of the

Regt.	Name.	Batt.	Place of Garrison.
9th	Count Hartmann	1	in Upper Hungary.
12th	Archduke Wilhelm	3	„ Kashau-Eperies.

Regt.	Name.	Batt.	Place of Garrison.
16th	Zanini	2 in	Buda-Pesth.
23rd	Ceccopieri	2 „	Buda-Pesth.
40th	Koudelka	2 „	Agram and Fiume.
41st	Sivkovits	2 „	Temeshvár.
63rd	Bianchi	2 „	Transylvania.

And of the cavalry regiments:

3rd King of Saxony 6th Count Walmoden 7th Count Hardegg	Cuirassiers, each regt. of six escadrons.
1st Archduke John 3rd Archd. Francis Joseph 5th Prince of Savoy	Dragoons, each regt. of six escadrons.
3rd Archd. Ferdinand Max. 6th Count Wrbna 7th Baron Kress	Light horse, each regt. of eight escadrons.
2nd Prince Schwarzenberg	Lancers.

Of the Austrian infantry, the following troops were at various periods withdrawn and sent to other countries; viz. the 12th and 23rd regiment, and one battalion of the 9th regiment (Zanini).

The 16th regiment took service in Hungary, and so did part of the 23rd (Ceccopieri). The 41st remained at Temeshvár, while the 40th remained in their former quarters (Agram and Fiume). The 63rd and some smaller detachments in Transylvania joined the Austrian commanders.

The cavalry regiments that left Hungary were: The 3rd and 6th cuirassiers, the 3rd dragoons, and the 6th and 7th regiments of light horse.

The 7th cuirassiers, the 1st dragoons, and part of the 7th light horse, joined the army of Jellachich. The 5th dragoons and the 3rd light horse joined General Puchner, and the 2nd lancers went to the fortresses of Arad and Temeshvár.

These troops were originally under the Commander-in-Chief, and at Buda under the General of the cavalry—Baron Lederer, and afterwards under Field-Marshal Lieutenant Hrabowszki. In Peterwarasdin they were, in the first instance, under the command of Field-Marshal Lieutenant Hrabowszki, and afterwards under Field-Marshal Lieutenant Blagœvits. The troops at Herrmannstadt, in Transylvania, were, up to October, under Field-Marshal Lieutenant Baron Puchner, and those at Temeshvár, under Field-Marshal Lieutenant Baron Piret. Baron Jellachich, the Commander-in-Chief at Agram, revolted, from the first, against the authority of the Hungarian War Office.

When our cabinet undertook the administration of the country, the War Department was in the hands of Meszáros, the duties of whose office were, during his temporary absence from his post, discharged by the Count Batthyányi, since it was he who, as President of the Cabinet,

had to provide for the creation of a National Guard. A Council of War was almost immediately resolved upon to manage all matters connected with this latter corps. The chief of this board was Colonel Baron Baldani, who had likewise the power to choose the members that were to act with him and under him. But the burden of the duties of the War Office lay on the shoulders of Major-General Œttinger, who was at that time in garrison at Buda.

But the Cabinet had scarcely left Pressburg, and come to reside in Pesth, when the Servian insurrection threatened them from the south. Dangers threatened them, too, from the Ban Jellachich, who sided with the Court, and a number of troops, beyond the strength of the Hungarian regiments then in the country, were absolutely required to meet and to repress treachery on the one hand, and discontent on the other. Most of the Austrian regiments were gradually withdrawn from the country, and those which remained were not likely to fight for the Hungarians, for they were duly prepared by the secret instructions of the Vienna War Office, and the exhortations of their officers. Even the Hungarian regiments were chiefly commanded by Austrian officers; and it was only the excellent spirit of the men which made them proof against the intrigues of their commanders. Nothing, indeed, could be more

necessary than the creation of a body of national troops. The men who thus voluntarily enlisted from the cities and country districts were called *Honveds*, or Home-defenders,—a name which, at a later period, was extended to the infantry of the regulars.

At first it was proposed to create ten Honved battalions, of 1200 men each. It was likewise proposed that the Council of War, to which I have just alluded, with their chief—Colonel Baldacci—should act independently of the War Office, in recruiting, clothing, and drilling the levies, and in ranging them into battalions; and that the corps thus formed should be placed at the command of the War Office only when they were broken to the service, and fully prepared to take the field. This was the first step to that division of power which is so fatal to every military establishment.

The recruiting for the new national army and artillery made a quick progress. The flower of the youth of Hungary hastened to join the ranks of the Honveds. The ten battalions were to be placed under Colonel Szeth. The commanders of the battalions were to be appointed by the king—the officers by the Palatine, with the consent of the Hungarian War Office. Among the commanders of these battalions were some gentlemen who, at a later period, acquired noto-

riety and fame: namely, the Generals Damjanich and Count Lázár, and the Colonels Cserey and Sigmond Szabo.

The Pesth battalions, Nos. 1 and 2, were the first to take the field in the commencement of June. Mészáros, the new Secretary-at-War, arrived from Italy about the end of May; and since the Austrian War Office had thought it worth its while to persuade him that there was no danger, a peremptory stop was put to all further recruiting.

Mészáros, whose recollections and sympathies lay with the past, would not consent to mix up the new troops with the so-called "Imperial" forces; and, instead of devoting himself to remove the military schism which had been created during his absence, by claiming the organisation and command of the new battalions for the War Office, he was but too happy to throw them on the Premier's hands — a course of proceeding which, at a later period, became an inexhaustible source of inconvenience and loss to the country.

The cessation of the recruitings, and consequently of the increase, of the Hungarian army, was the more derogatory to our interests, since the disorders in the south and in Transylvania prevented the intended concentration of our troops near Szegedin, and since it was henceforward

impossible to obtain such numbers of Szeklers (whose reputation for bravery is known all over the world) from their homes, where they were wanted to protect their families against the insurgent Wallachs.

We had consequently only 15,000 troops of the line, 10 Honved battalions, 70 escadrons, and 2 regiments of Szeklers,—all in all, a force of 36,000 men and 7000 horses, and this force was the foundation of the great Hungarian army.

The *cadres* for our artillery were taken from the 5th regiment of artillery, which was at that time garrisoned at Pesth. The effective organisation of that force was greatly promoted by the circumstance that a great many Hungarians served in the said regiment, that several able foreigners volunteered to serve in that corps, and that throughout the war we made a point of supplying the vacancies in the establishment by really able and well-instructed men only. Our wants on the score of guns, ammunition, and cars, were at first extremely modest (owing to the small number of artillerymen we had), and the supply was liberal in the extreme. Besides the weapons which were in the hands of the former "Imperial" troops, we found in the dépôts from 35,000 to 40,000 muskets, which we distributed among the Honveds and National Guards.

The southern insurrection, and the fears of Jellachich's invasion, were meanwhile on the increase. The Cabinet saw the danger; and, for the purpose of warding it off, it was resolved to march the National Guards and other volunteers, who originally had enlisted for a term of three months only, and the major part of whom came from the counties of Vas, Zala, and Somogy. These forces were marched to the Drave, where they were joined to some detachments of regulars under the Generals Œttinger, Melczer, and Teleki, for the purpose of preventing Jellachich's invasion.

When the Parliament was opened (4th July), the dangers which threatened the country were strongly adverted to in the speech from the throne, and energetic measures were demanded for the maintenance of order and tranquillity. But a still more faithful picture of the condition of the country was given in Kossuth's speech of the 11th July,* in which he demanded an army of 200,000 men, and a credit of 60,000,000 florins (£6,000,000), a demand which was granted without a debate. But these laws wanted the royal sanction, and that sanction was adjourned *sine die*.

A debate afterwards took place on the details of the vote of soldiers. The Secretary-at-War

* *See* Appendix.

made certain proposals, which were opposed by a large majority of the two Houses, for the Parliament was alive to the dangers which threatened us, and the necessity of having a national army, and one on which we could rely. The minister, who had confidence in Count Latour's polite notes and flattering promises, insisted on strengthening the old regiments, and on giving their command to Imperial officers, in whom no manner of confidence could be placed.

But as 40,000 men only were to be raised in the first instance, Meszáros was allowed to have his way on many points, until the laws should have received the king's sanction, when it was proposed to make an energetic opposition against the vacillating measures of the War Office.

Still the danger became daily more imminent, and the Palatine and the Cabinet ordered, in August, that four free corps (which might be increased to 8000 foot and horse) should assemble in four districts. The commanders of these free corps were the Majors Görgey, Ivanka, Kosztolanyi, and Marjassy. The corps were ordered to assemble at Pápa, Vátz, Szolnok, and Arad, but Jellachich's invasion prevented their satisfactory organisation, and the Commanders Görgey, Ivanka, and Kosztolanyi were, in September, ordered to join and cover our forces

that were fighting against Jellachich. Major Marjassy remained at Arad.

It was about this time that the two Hunyadi corps (two divisions of foot and horse, of 1200 and 800 men,) were fully organised, under Kossuth's auspices.

Our corps of observation on the Drave, which consisted of a few regulars, and large masses of raw levies, and which was successively under three commanders,* was ultimately placed under the Palatine Archduke Stephen; and when that Prince took flight, they were handed over to Field-Marshal Lieutenant Moga, who led them to Pressburg and across the Laytha.

When the news of Jellachich's invasion reached the Parliament, that assembly decreed the issue of Hungarian money and the immediate increase of the army. Permission was granted to organise sundry free corps, and one of these corps was collected by Perczel, who was subsequently appointed to its command.

After Jellachich's retreat from Stuhl-Weissenburg, Perczel and his corps were withheld from the pursuit. They were instructed, in union with Görgey, to watch the motions of the Croatian reserves under the Generals Roth and Fillipovits. After the surrender of these reserves at Ozora,

* General Œttinger, Colonel Melczer, and General Teleki.

the corps under Perczel marched to Csaktornyá, while Görgey repaired to the army of the Danube, of which he had taken the command after the battle at Schwechat.

When the Cabinet resigned in September, the direction of affairs, and of course of the War Office, devolved upon Count Batthyányi. The War Office was at that time completely abandoned. Meszáros was with the army—the Secretary of State, Colonel Meltzer, resigned—Colonel Baldacci left the Council of War for his regiment—in short, a favorable opportunity offered to unite the two boards, and to place them into faithful and energetic hands. But this necessary measure was neglected—and the sphere of action of the Council of War was enlarged, by the instructions which that Board received to organise the troops it had enlisted. The man whom Batthyányi placed at the head of the board, Colonel Nádosy, was incapable, and (as events proved) unworthy of confidence.

Still, progress was making, though slowly. Some battalions were brought into marching condition, and some free corps were incorporated with the Honveds. They engaged to serve to the end of the war. The counties of Szabolt, Borsod, and others, equipped some battalions. The Borsod volunteers mustered 1100 men when they took the field; after the surrender of Komorn

they mustered 216: the rest died for their country!

A great change took place in military affairs when Batthyányi resigned for the second time, when the Vienna Revolution of the 6th October broke out, and when the Committee of Defence (*Honvedelmi Bizoffmány*) took the direction of the War Office. Kossuth devoted his especial attention to the military establishment. He himself raised a *landsturm* of several thousand men, and sent them to the army on the Upper Danube. Energetic and effectual measures were taken for completing the regiments of foot and horse, and for providing them with arms, provisions, and dress. In November, an order was issued dissolving the Board of General Command and the Council of War. The members of the latter board were henceforward attached to the War Office, and the chief direction of military affairs was given to the Committee of Defence under Kossuth's superintendence. Meszáros offered repeatedly to resign his office, but he was induced to remain till April, 1849.

After the battle of Schwechat, the chief command of the army on the Upper Danube was given to Görgey. He materially assisted Kossuth in organising the army, for he animadverted on the weaknesses and abuses of the administration, and he suggested the means for their removal.

The most perfect and salutary understanding prevailed at that time between Kossuth and Görgey.

Though threatened on all sides, the devotion of the people and the energy of the administration enabled us to meet the enemy wherever the armies crossed our frontiers. It was not indeed possible to produce at once a number of regular and battle-tried troops, and the bulk of our armies was made up by Honveds, volunteers, and National Guards.

At the end of November, we had the following troops in the field:—

1st. The army on the Upper Danube, under General Görgey.

2nd. The army in Upper Hungary, under the Commissioners Jessenák and Benitzki.

3rd. The corps at Sarós (in Upper Hungary), under Colonel Pulszky, and at Szatmár, under Colonel Katona.

4th. The corps at Arad, under Colonels Marjassy and Gál.

5th. The army in the Banat, under the Generals Damjanich, Kiss, and Vetter.

6th. The army at Essek, on the Drave, under Count Kasimir Batthyányi.

7th. The corps at Csáktornyá, on the Upper Drave, under General Perczel.

8th. Baldacci's corps in Transylvania.

9th. The garrison of Komorn, Peterwarasdin, Essek, and Leopoldstadt.

The joint number of these corps and divisions amounted to about 100,000 men, of whom the major part was neither well drilled nor well armed, and who, with the exception of the troops in Transylvania, were opposed by superior numbers of regular troops. I have mentioned Transylvania as an exception. In that province we had not, indeed, to contend with regulars, but with 20,000 insurgent Wallachians.

When, upon Windischgrätz's advance, the Government left Pesth for Debrezin, the Commissariat, the manufactories of arms, the cannon-foundries, etc., were sent to Great Warasdin. All the provinces which we occupied were in abundant possession of stores, and the greatest activity and zeal prevailed in the recruiting departments.

Our commanders in Transylvania were some of them taken by surprise by the sudden development of events, and part of them were compelled to evacuate that province. Our forces in Transylvania were, in December, placed under the command of General Bem, who succeeded in dislodging the enemy at almost every point. He and Csányi took steps to provide for the wants of our Transylvanian army; new levies were enlisted, and large masses of the brave Szeklers joined our

ranks. Bem retained his command to the end of the war.

Our army increased gradually to such an extent, that in May, 1849, we had (besides the nineteen "Imperial" battalions) 106 battalions of foot, and four battalions of rifles. Our twelve regiments of hussars were well nigh complete, and this force was increased by six new regiments.

The new regiments were called:—

No. 13, Hunyadi.
„ 14, Lehel.
„ 15, Mátyás.
„ 16, Károlyi.
„ 17, Bocskay.
„ 18, Atila Hussars.

The army was at this time divided into nine army corps, of which the first, second, third, seventh, and eighth formed the army on the Upper Danube—the fourth and sixth the army of the South—the fifth the Transylvanian army, and the ninth the Northern army.

After the evacuation of Pesth in January, 1849, Görgey retreated to the mountain cities and to Kashau, where he effected a junction with the first corps, which was at that time in Upper Hungary, and under my command. From the Southern army, too, we were reinforced by detachments of troops under Vecsey; and a junction of all our

available troops on the Theiss, and an offensive warfare, were intended. These troops stood consecutively under the command of Dembinski, Vetter, and Görgey. It was the latter who commanded in the course of that splendid campaign which ended with the conquest of Buda.

When Görgey took the lead of the War Office, (in May, 1849), it was his first care to introduce the necessary unity in the command, and the uniformity of military administration. The equalisation of all the troops was decreed; the late "Imperial" regiments and battalions were converted into independent Honved battalions; the Polish and Italian troops were formed into corps, under their own officers.

The Polish Legion consisted of sundry divisions of foot and horse, under Bulharin, Torznicki, and Count Poninski; the Italian Legion, which consisted almost wholly of infantry, was under the command of Colonel Count Monti.

The division of the army in corps of from 10,000 to 12,000 men was introduced; order was established in the administration of public stores and moneys: magazines and dépôts were made in all parts of the country, and many useful innovations were introduced, tending to promote the unity, discipline, and consequently the efficiency, of the army; but the want of time, and the frequent migrations of the Government, prevented

many of his measures from taking effect. Still great pains were taken to increase the numbers of our troops. At the commencement of August, we had 147 battalions, and at the end of September, five new battalions were at Komorn added to their number. Besides these we had four divisions of pioneers, and six divisions of rifles. The major part of the latter were in Transylvania. We had eighteen regiments of hussars; 400 pieces of artillery, with men and horses, viz. 10,000 men and 7000 horses. Besides the nine corps which I have mentioned above, we had two divisions under Colonel Kazinczy and General Kmetty. Kazinczy's division mustered in the last weeks above 10,000 men. Divisions of sappers and miners were being organised in Komorn and Peterwarasdin.

It is impossible to give a clear and correct statement, in numbers, of the strength of the Hungarian army, exposed as that army was to the accidents and fatigues of war; but I trust I am pretty accurate when I state that, in the course of the last month, our army (in the various parts of the country and in the hospitals) mustered to the strength of from 130,000 to 135,000 men.* We had from 26,000 to 28,000 horses, and about

* Among them were the remains of the gallant Vienna Academic Legion, of from eighty to ninety men; from 3000 to 4000 Poles; and about 800 Italians.

400 field-pieces. About 30,000 men were, for the time, invalided.

In the commencement of the war, neither the lesser nor the larger bodies of troops were subjected to a uniform arrangement; the strength of the corps, and of the new regiments and battalions of infantry, varied to an enormous extent. According to the new arrangements, a corps ought to have consisted of three divisions—two of foot and one of horse. An infantry division was to have five battalions; a cavalry division about sixteen escadrons, with a corresponding complement of artillery and engineers. It was decreed that the strength of our corps should not exceed the number of 12,000 men. The old mode of dividing bodies of troops into *brigades* was done away with. The battalions were independent. They received their instructions from the commander of the division. A body of troops of less than one division, and more than one battalion, if detached, was placed under the command of an officer who was appointed to head the expedition; and if killed or wounded, that officer was to be replaced by the senior officer of the troop. A cavalry reserve was established for larger bodies of troops. Arrangements were likewise made to unite the cavalry divisions of the various corps into one body, and to supply their respective places by infantry divisions. In this case only

a few detachments were left with the various corps.

The corps, then, was divided into three divisions. The command of the divisions was for the most part given to colonels and generals. An infantry division consisted of five battalions; one battalion consisted of six companies; one company, of four files. One battalion, without the officers, ought to have 800 men. This force was commanded either by a major, lieutenant-colonel, or colonel, who was assisted by an adjutant.

A company had—

1 Captain.
1 First Lieutenant.
2 Lieutenants.
2 Sergeants.
12 Corporals.
2 Drummers, and
2 Carpenters.

A battalion ought to have had—

1 Commander.
1 Adjutant.
1 Standard Bearer.
2 Leaders.
1 Surgeon.
3 Surgeons-Assistant.
6 Captains.
6 First Lieutenants.

12 Lieutenants.
12 Sergeants.
72 Corporals.
12 Drummers.
12 Carpenters, and
800 Privates.

But, owing to the accidents of war, it may be said that our battalion, rank and file, mustered to the strength of 800 men, while some battalions were reduced to half that number.

The cavalry divisions of the army were divided into four regiments, of four divisions each. Each division, which was commanded by a staff-officer, was divided into two escadrons—each escadron being under the command of a senior captain, and numbering about 160 men. The charges of an escadron were—

2 Captains.
2 First Lieutenants.
2 Lieutenants.
2 Sergeants.
12 Corporals.
2 Trumpeters, and
1 Smith.

A regiment of cavalry was consequently officered by—

1 Colonel and Commander of the Regiment.
4 Staff-officers and Commanders of Divisions.

8 Captains and Commanders of Escadrons.
8 Junior Captains.
10 First Lieutenants.
16 Second Lieutenants.
1 Surgeon.
8 Surgeons-Assistant.
1 Smith for the Regiment.
8 Smiths for the Escadrons.
16 Sergeants.
4 Standard Bearers.
96 Corporals.
1 Staff-trumpeter.
20 Trumpeters, and
1280 Privates.

The number of men in a cavalry regiment ought to have been 1600; but the real number was 1000 men.

The *artillery* was, in the commencement of the war, established in batteries of six field-pieces each. The number of pieces in a battery was subsequently raised to eight, although this new arrangement had but a limited effect.

Of the various kinds of field-pieces, we had—

3-pndr.	foot-batt.	of 4	guns;	2	7-pndr.	howitzers.	
6	„	„	of 4	„	2	„	„
6	„	horse-batt.	of 4	„	2	„	„
12	„	foot-batt.	of 4	„	2	10-pndr.	„
18	„	„	of 4	„	2	10-pndr.	„

Besides these we had rocket-batteries and one-pounders, which were not, however, divided into batteries. They were at various times employed in the mountain defiles.

The guns were used to shoot plain balls and cartridge, while grenades and shells were thrown by means of the howitzers.

The batteries had one ammunition-car for each piece of artillery; and, moreover, one field-smithy, and waggons of baggage implements, and provisions for the horses.

The men for the service of the guns were taken from the artillery force; and their number, as well as that of the drivers and horses, varied according to the *calibre* of the guns.

The following officers distinguished themselves in the establishment and improvement of the various branches of military administration.

General Répásy, in the cavalry; the Colonels Psotta and Lukács, in the artillery.

In the store department (manufactory of arms), General Lahner.

The department of fortifications, and the erection of engineer corps, were materially assisted by the Generals Gál and Török, and by the Colonels Hollan, Stephen Szabó, and Kazinczy.

What the Hungarian army was, and what it did, is on record. Their devotion, bravery, perseve-

rance, and contempt of death, were equal to the most glorious examples of patriotism which the history of ancient and modern times records; and if I mention them, it is not because I fear that the memory of such heroic deeds would ever be forgotten, but because I wish to record my personal tribute of admiration to the intrepid champions of our country's rights and liberties.

The following gentlemen held office under the Independent Government of Hungary, viz.:—

In Batthyányi's Cabinet, from the 11th April to the 8th September, 1848:

Count L. Batthyányi . .	Premier.
Paul, Prince Esterházy . .	Foreign Affairs (at Vienna).
Bartholomy Szemere . .	Interior.
Stefan, Count Széchenyi .	Public Works.
Louis Kossuth	Finance.
Joseph, Baron Eötvös . .	Public Instruction.
Gabriel Klauzál	Trade.
Lazar Meszáros.	War.
Francis Deák	Justice.

After the resignation of the Cabinet, and after Count Batthyányi's departure from Pesth (on the 27th of September), the Parliament elected a Provisional Committee to manage the affairs of the nation. When Batthyányi's resignation became known, this

Board was definitively instituted as the Committee of Defence.

Its members were—

Louis Kossuth . . . President.
Paul Nyári . . . . Vice President.
Baron Perenyi.
Michael Count Esterházy.
Baron Jósika.
Bartholomew Szemere.
Ladislaus Madarász.
Francis Pulszky.
Dionys Pázmándi.
M. Zsembery.
Lazarus Mészáros.

The Committee of Defence supplied the place of a Cabinet up to the 1st of May, 1849, when the administration of the country was given into the hands of Szemere's Cabinet, which remained in power till the 11th of August.

Its members were—

B. Szemere . . . . . Premier and Interior.
Francis Duschek . . . . . Finances.
Arthur Görgey (after him Aulich) . . . War.
Casimir Count Batthyányi . . Foreign Affairs.
M.Horváth,(Bishop of Csanad), Public Instruction.
L. Csányi . . . . . Public Works.
S. Vukovits . . . . . Justice.

In the War Department the following gentlemen acted as ministers :—

Gen. Meszáros, 11th April, 1848, to 1st May, 1849.
Gen. Görgey, 1st May, 1849, to 1st July, „
Gen. Aulich, 15th July, „ to 11th Aug. „

PROVISIONAL SECRETARIES AT WAR.

General Klapka.
General Répásy.
Colonel Imre Szabó, 1st to 15th July, 1849, and Minister *ad interim*.

Under Secretaries of State in the War Department were :—
Colonel Andor Melczer.
Colonel Imre Szabó.

The following is a list of the Generals of the Hungarian Army :—

Lieutenant-General Dembinski, commander of the army of corps. . . now a refugee in Turkey.
Lieutenant-General Kiss, commander of the country, . . executed.
Lieutenant-General Mészáros, Secretary at War and commander of corps, . . a refugee in Turkey.

Lieutenant-General Vetter, commander of the army, . .	an exile.
Lieutenant-General Bem, commander of the army, . .	a refugee in Turkey.
General Görgey, Secretary at War and commander of the army, .	lives in Austria.
General Perczel, commander of a corps, ...	in Turkey.
General Répásy, inspector of the cavalry, . .	died of cholera.
General Schweidel, commander at Pesth and Szegedin, . .	executed.
General Count Lázár,* . .	
General Count Alexander Esterházy,†	
General Count Vécséy, commander of a corps, . . .	executed.
General Damjanich, commander of a corps, . . .	executed.
General Aulich, commander of a corps, and Secretary at War, .	executed.
General Klapka, commander of a corps, and commander in chief of the fortress and army at Komorn.	

* Count Lázár made a voluntary surrender in January, 1849. As a reward, he was sentenced to be confined in a fortress for a term of 10 years.

† Deserted to the enemy in January, 1849.

General Lahner, commissioner of Ordnance, . . . executed.
General Török, director of engineers and commander of the fortress of Komorn, . . . executed.
General Gál, commander of a corps and director of engineers, 20 yrs. con. fortress.
General Csuha, commander of the fortress of Peterwarasdin.
General Paul Kiss, commander of the fortress of Peterwarasdin.
General Nagy Sándor, commander of a corps, . . . executed.
General Gáspár, commander of a corps, . . 10 years in a fortress.
General Guyon, . . . in Turkey.
General Lenkey, . . . dead.
General Knezich, . . . executed.
General Pöltenberg, . . executed.
General Visocky, . . . Turkey.
General Desewffy, . . executed.
General Pigetti, commander of the cavalry, 20 years confinement in a fortress.
General Count Leiningen, commander of a corps, . . executed.
General Czecz, commander of a corps, . . . in exile.
General Kmetty, commander of a corps in the Banat . . } refugee in Turkey.

List of Colonels of the Hungarian Army :—

INFANTRY.

L. Ashboth,	fortress, 18 years
Bergmann,	„ 18 years
Bikkesy,	died at Paris.
Bulharin,	Turkey.
Cserey,	fortress, 10 years.
Czillich,	„ 18 years.
Dobay,	„ 18 years.
Count Paul Esterházy,	at Hamburgh.
Charles Földváry,	fortress, 16 years.
Louis Földváry,	„ 16 years.
Alex. Gál,	captive in Austria.
Ladislaus Gál,	captive in Austria.
Janik,	liberated by the capitulation of Komorn.
Charles Kiss,	fortress, 10 years.
Nicolaus Kiss,	Paris.
Korponay,	on his trial.
Kosztolanyi,	belonged to the garrison of Komorn.
Marjássy,	fortress, 18 years.
Meszlényi,	„ 18 years.
Count Monti,	in Turkey.
Eugen Nagy,	fortress, 16 years.
Ormay,	executed.
Piller.	
John Pulszky,	died.
Rakowszky,	belonged to the garrison of Komorn.
Schultz, (Báthory,)	ditto.

Sigmond Szabó,	belonged to Komorn.
Szalay,	in America.
Szekulits,	fortress, 16 years.
Augustus Tóth,	„ 16 years.
Count Otto Zichy,	belonged to Komorn.

CAVALRY.

Abrahamy.	
Count Julius Andrássy,	London.
Baron John Bánffy,	a fugitive somewhere.
Békeffy,	a fugitive somewhere.
Bersek,	fortress, 18 years.
Berzsenyi,	„ 18 years.
Eugen Beöthy,	London.
Count Bethlen,	Paris.
Farkas,	Paris.
Ferenzy,	fortress, 12 years.
Forró,	„ 18 years.
Count Hadik,	„ 18 years.
Hortelendi,	died.
Horváth,	fortress, 18 years.
Karger,	„ 3 years.
Kászonyi,	London.
Baron Kémeny,	Turkey.
Baron Kis Karoly,	fell in battle in Transylvania.
Lenkey,	fortress, 12 years.
Mandy,	„ 16 years.
Mehyhárt,	„ 12 years.
Mesterházy,	„ 18 years.

Mezey,	. . .	fortress, 12 years.
Baron Mikes,	. .	„ 12 years.
Molnár,	. . .	„ 10 years.
Németh,	. . .	„ 10 years.
Pándy,	. . .	„ 16 years.
Pukly,	. . .	„ 16 years.
Rákóczy,	. . .	„ 16 years.
Rohomzy,	. . .	London.
Sréter,	. . .	fortress, 16 years.
Szathmary,	. .	„ 16 years.
Uechtriez.		

ARTILLERY.

Psotta,	. . .	fortress, 18 years.
Lucács,	. . .	„ 18 years.
Rapaich,	. . .	„ 18 years.

STAFF AND ENGINEERS.

Assermann,	.	belonged to Komorn.
Bayer,	. . .	fortress, 18 years.
Hollán,	. . .	„ 18 years.
Kazinczy,	. . .	shot.
Kohlmann,	. . .	Turkey.
Baron Stein,	. .	Turkey.
Imre Szabó,	. .	London.
Stephen Szabó,	. .	Turkey.
Waldberg,	. .	fortress, 18 years.
Zambelli,	. . .	„ 12 years.

DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX AND NOTES.

I.

THE BULLA AUREA*

of King Andreas II. was given in the year 1222. The preamble to this bill sets forth: "that the liberties of the Nobility and of certain other natives of these Realms, as founded by King Stephen the Saint, having suffered great Detriment and Curtailment, by the violence of sundry kings, who were impelled by their own evil Propensities, and by the advice of certain malicious Persons, and partly by the cravings of their own insatiable cupidity, the Nobles of the country had preferred frequent petitions for the confirmation of the Constitution of these Realms, to such an extent that in utter contempt of his (the king's) Royal Authority, violent discussions and accusations had arisen." The king declares further, that "he is now willing to confirm and maintain, for all times to come, the nobility and the freemen of the country in all their rights, privileges, and

* See Historical Introduction, p. xiv.

immunities, as provided by the statutes of St. Stephen." In specification of these rights, privileges, and immunities, it is enacted,—

1. That the nobility and their possessions shall not for the future be subject to taxes and impositions.

2. That no man shall be either accused or arrested, sentenced, or punished for a crime, unless he have received a legal summons and until a judicial inquiry into his case shall have taken place.

3. The nobles and franklins shall be bound to do military service at their own expense, but it shall not be legal to force them to cross the frontier of the country. In a foreign war the king is bound to pay the knights and the troops of the counties.

4. The king has no right to entail whole counties and the high offices of the kingdom.

5. The king is not allowed to farm to Jews and Ismaelites his domains, the taxes, the coinage, or the salt mines.

In conclusion, the king declares, "that if he, or any of his Successors, should ever be found to transgress the Provisions of this Bill, that the Bishops, the high Dignitaries, and the whole of the Nobility for all times to come, shall, by virtue of this Bill, be entitled and empowered, jointly or severally, to oppose and contradict the King and

his Successors after him, as the case may be, without for so doing incurring the penalties of High Treason."

These provisions, and those which we quoted above, were embodied into thirty-one chapters, and in the form of a "*Bulla Aurea;*" seven copies were made and delivered "in the keep and trust" of the Papal archives, of the Knights of the Hospital of St. John, of the Knight Templars in Hungary and Sclavonia, of the King, of the Archbishops of Gran and Kalotsa, and of the Palatine and his successors, with strict injunctions to the latter, "to be very mindful of the said Golden Bill, even so that neither he in his own Person shall transgress its Articles, nor shall he allow either the King, or the Nobility, or Others, to transgress the same. But he ought to watch that every man was left in the full enjoyment of his Legal Liberties, and that, in return, due respect and loyalty was paid to the King and his Successors after him."

II.

CHARACTER OF FRANCIS II.*

FRANCIS was a man of a peculiar temper. With him, all was policy and calculation. The usual characteristics of his House, were all concentrated and reproduced in his individuality. His astounding memory was only matched by his cunning. He was not the man whom the world took him to be. He was not a weak man. He was not good-natured. He was not a fool in the hands of his ministers. Nor was he ignorant of state affairs. He was a Hapsburg throughout. He, like his ancestors and successors, had but one aim—the splendor of his House. The *interest of the House* is the formula of their existence. Francis had one peculiarity which distinguished him. The interests of the House were, according to him, concentrated in his person. Hence the heartless egotism which characterises him.

* See Historical Introduction, p. xxxviii.

He had but one thought — *I!* Hence his choice of tools and servants. They were generally people of the very worst reputation, and as such they served to "*shade* him off." He liked it to seem so, and to lay all the miseries and abuses of his government at the door of his servants. This is the reason why he was, to the last, loved and adored by those who were ignorant of his real character. But wo to those whom he suspected even of a thought hostile to his interests! they were devoted to certain ruin and torments. His brothers trembled when he spoke to them. As for the fate of his daughter and grandson, it is on record. It was not by Maria Louisa's fault that she sank so deeply.

The appearance of Francis, and his manners, were vulgar in the extreme. He delighted in the language of the mob, and he gained the mob by his bad language. His form was awkward and undignified; his face displayed the utter absence of all feeling, which is the chief characteristic of the Hapsburg race. Blindly relying on the proverbial good fortune of his House, the lessons of fate were lost upon him.

Such a character was a stranger to charity; and the legacy of his "love" which he left to his people, was no more than a sarcasm which worthily concluded the drama of a life, to which he

himself had selected an appropriate motto. That motto was, "Nation! I acknowledge none! I have but *subjects!*"

Ungarns gutes Recht, pp. 47, 48.

III.

THE COMMISSIONS OF 1823.*

THE violent measures of 1823 provoked energetic remonstrances from almost all the Hungarian counties. The complaints, and the spirit of the country, are vividly depicted in the following remonstrance of the county of Bars:

"SIRE,

"Whereas, in spite of the intrigues of the enemies of this kingdom, the Hungarian nation has, from the advent of your House to the throne, remained faithful to its character and its Prince: and whereas the hereditary succession of either sex, which this nation introduced of its own free will, has materially tended more firmly to establish the throne which was so long upheld by the courage and the loyalty of the Hungarian nation; and whereas these facts are on record, not only

* See Historical Introduction, p. xxxix.

by a variety of public acts and documents which it would be too long to enumerate, but also in particular by virtue of Articles 2 and 3 of 1687, of Article 8 of 1715, of Article 2 of 1723, and of Article 63 of 1741, while the sacrifices which were made under your Majesty's Government are recorded by Article 6 of 1792, Article 2 of 1796, Article 1 of 1802, Article 1 of 1815, Articles 1 and 2 of 1807, Articles 2 and 6 of 1818, Article 1 of 1812, as well as by the annals of 1805, 1809, and 1819; and whereas the conclusion of peace, which was gained by bravery equal to that of foreign nations, and by the mutual assistance and support of the Hungarians, justified us all in our hopes, that the victims of war would at length be permitted in safety to enjoy the fruits of their struggles; we find, on the contrary, that the old wounds of the people are caused to bleed afresh, that the authority of the laws is put aside, that the Military venture to desecrate the Curias and County-houses, that Liberty of speech is suppressed, that public Functionaries are imprisoned, and that our constitutional Existence seems to be tottering on the brink of ruin.

"Our minds have been seized with distress and surprise when we learnt that a member of a noble Hungarian family, a guardian of the Holy Crown, has of late appeared in the neighbouring county of Neutra, where he introduced himself as a

"Royal Commissioner," and where he proceeded, under the protection of your sacred name, to besiege the County-house, which even your Majesty condescended to enter without an escort, with martial sentinels; to dissolve the sitting of the Estates immediately after the proclamation of your Resolution, for the purpose of preventing them from expressing their opinion; to place the magistrates (in flagrant violation of the privileges of nobility, and without a summons or judicial decree) in custody of a military guard; to effect a forcible entry into the private houses of the said magistrates; to force those that have sworn, to be foresworn; to cut off the way of legal remedies by seizing the protocols and the representation,—in a word, to put aside all Right and Justice, and thus degrade your Majesty's legal dignity by its abusive exercise. And we understand that this person, like an obnoxious thunderstorm, proposes to subject other counties to his visitation.

"There were men in each time, and under each Government, who abused the confidence of their Sovereign, and who tarnished the splendor of the Diadem by exposing it to the tears of the people. Our country, especially in these latter times, has not wanted hostile ministers, who, after having first suppressed the voice of the nation, have endeavored, by false reports and fictitious griev-

ances against our constitution, to lower us in the good opinion of our kings, and who, alleging the interest of the Commonwealth, sought to undermine the municipal statutes, rights, and liberties of this kingdom. But who could have thought of the possibility of an attack at this time? Who could have thought that Hungarians could be found so forgetful of their ancestors and their duties, as to make themselves the instruments of an illegal system, which, we are convinced, is foreign to your Majesty's heart? The very same attacks which, in another and equally fatal time, were directed against the personal prerogatives of the nobility, have now been levelled against the public law and against the safety of persons and property; for the liberty of legally speaking and consulting among ourselves, which remained intact for many centuries, has, in this season of distress, been abolished, and the greatest danger threatens every man who ventures to speak his mind in public affairs. The humble petitions which we used to prefer to you as our common father, are now prohibited, and those which we sent in at an earlier period are contemptuously placed *ad acta;* our appeal to the laws, which hitherto was sacred in the eyes of kings, has come to be execrated and stigmatised as opposition and rebellion. * * * * *

"If we consider the enormous price of salt and

other minerals, and the depression in the trade of agricultural produce; when we consider the monopolies of all various merchandise, the illegal dependence of our chambers, the frequent interference with the courts of law, the abuse of patents and royal liberties, the want of a Parliament, and many other complaints and grievances; and when we consider that the Hungarian nation, not only in the critical period of 1805, but also throughout the period of their prolonged ill-treatment, have remained true and loyal to the High Reigning Dynasty, that they have shrunk from no sacrifice, and that they have been profuse in their proofs of attachment and devotion: it is indeed a marvel to think that there should be men so hostile to their country, and to your Majesty's own interests, as to advise you to recruit your army in a manner which is foreign to law, and to insist on the payment of the taxes in specie, and enforce such payment in the very face of the absence of all gold and silver coin from this kingdom of Hungary."

The remonstrance from which we take the above extracts, shows what the condition of Hungary was, and what the King and his councillors would have made it. Still, after such flagrant violation of all private and public law, Francis had the impertinence to proclaim to the Estates of the country:*—

* In 1830.

"From the day of Our Advent to the throne, We have on every occasion (which We sometimes *made*) shown Our desire to promote the Glory and the Welfare of the people which God hath entrusted to Our care. And it is this strong desire which hath moved Us to follow the example of Our great Ancestors, and to decree the coronation of Our well-beloved and first-born Son to take place in Our lifetime, and indeed in Our Presence.

For We desire that the sacred bonds which will unite the heir to the throne with the kingdom, shall be a fresh pledge of Our paternal love, for Our son as well as for the nation which is so dear to Us. It will therefore add to the treasures of Our satisfaction to be at once the Creator and Witness of that just joy which this old and time-honored solemnity will instil into the hearts of all loyal Hungarians, and Our greatest wish is, that the endeavors of Our life—mortal though it be—may for *you* be attended with Immortal Results.

"Pervaded as We are by these sentiments, We most heartily wish you joy, to the conviction that *Our* Son will not only be the heir of Our states, but that he will likewise prove to be the heir of Our sincere love for you.

"He will know that the true splendor of the throne lies in the welfare of the people; that the

strength of government lies in the sanctity of the Laws. After Our decease he will be the Protector and Champion of your Liberty and of your time-honored Constitution."

The reply which the Estates of the country made to this proposal, and to which Francis readily submitted, proves that Ferdinand's resignation of the Hungarian throne, and the nomination of Francis Joseph to succeed him, are without any legal value. The most essential points of this reply are the following:

——"Status et ordines per Suam Majestatem "Sacratissimam ad præsentem Diætam convo- "cati, e primo benignarum propositionem regi- "arum puncto, intimo cum gratitudinis sensu "intellexerunt: Eandem Majestatem S. in per- "petuum sinceri sui studii, avitam regni, hujus "Constitutionem conservandi, et in posteros "illibate transmittendi momentum, pro Sua "benigna erga fidelem populum paterni animi "propensione, illud cepisse consilium: ut su- "premæ et præsertim tit. 4 et 9 partis 1 æ "operis decreti tripartiti, declaratæ potestatis, "privilegiorum item collationis et aliorum ju- "rium majestaticorum exercitio, penes Eandem "permanente Art. item 3, 1791, circa inaugu- "rationem, coronationemque regiam, secus intra "semestre cum quavis mutatione regiminis in- "omisse suscipiendam, dispositione porro etiam

" salva, Serenissimus Dominus hæreditarius
" Coronæ princeps Archi-Dux Ferdinandus,
" alioquin juxta successionis ordinem, art. 1 et
" 2, 1723, stabilitum, in hoc quoque hæreditario
" Regno Hungariæ et eidem adnexis Partibus
" immediatus successor, in futurum Regem et Do-
" minum ritu legali coronetur ; hoc novo iterum
" in quasvis temporum vices et eventus robore,
" constabiliendæ felicitatis publicæ pignus, quod
" auspicium etiam illorum constituet, quibus
" S. Majestas SSa. paterno suo in Gentem Hun-
" garam amori, hujusque erga Se, Augustamæ
" ve Domum Suam fidei, fidelitatisque ardori
" his comitiis subin litare decrevit, Status et
" Ordines tenerrimo devotionis sensu excipi-
" entes, locatæ in se fiduciæ apprime satisfac-
" turos tenseat, dum ad benignam S. Majestatis
" propositionem eo promptius accedunt cum
" convicti sint *quod S. Serenitas C. R. robur*
" *imperii in sanctimonia legum reponendo, fidus*
" *libertatum avitæque constitutionis custos pariter*
" *ac propugnator futura sit.*

" In hunc fiduciam erecti in acceptatione
" diplomaticæ assecurationis formæ, per modo
" regnantem Majestatem R. anno 1792 præstitæ,
" per neocoronandum vero Regem coronationi
" præmittendæ, et juramento firmandæ hac
" vice *conquiescunt.*

" Ita animati sint licet Status et Ordines, re-

"ticere tamen non possunt, quod in Regalibus "convocatoriis futurus eorum Rex et Dominus, "erga præmittendam diplomaticæ assecuratio- "nis acceptationem inaugurandus declaretur, "adeoque id in antecessum pro stabilito innui "videatur, quod objectum diætalis consulta- "tionis constituit.

"Exempla enim præcedentium temporum "docent, *inauguralia diplomata rationi commu-* "*nis utilitatis et mediorum confirmandæ reci-* "*procæ fiduciæ, mutuo Regis et Regni Statuum* "*consensu, per additamenta et modificationes,* "*etiam art.* 1. 1715 memoratas, atque art. 1791 "et 1792 contentas accommodata exstitisse. – "Expressionem proinde vocis *præstabilitæ* eo "sensu, quod de diplomate inaugurali diætaliter "tractandi via in futurum præclusa sit, *acceptari* "*non posse.*

"Objectum cui Status et Ordines ante adhuc "coronationem medelam adferri cupiunt, con- "stituit, ut ratione avulsarum Regni partium, "decreta mox recuperatarum incorporatione, "conditioni tertiæ inauguralis diplomatis et "juramento, quæ magis ac unquam oportet "Populum intacta intueri, satisfiat.

"Licet autem Status et Ordines juribus "Regni conservandis constanter intentum S. "Majestatis Studium in eo humillime agnos- "cant: quod Eadem provisionem art. 3. 1791

"pro casu intervenientis mutationis in regi-
"mine per neocoronandum Regem explendam,
"in ipsis benignis Propositionibus regiis præ-
"salvare, eoque Status et Ordines Securos red-
"dere dignata sit, ut S. Serenitas C. R. his sub
"comitiis coronanda, posteaquam ad clavum
"regiminis pervenerit, *intra sex mensium*
"*spatium comitia scopo art.* 7. 1723. 5.
"1824-5. *inomisse convocare debeat:* ita in ea
"etiam S. Majestatis SSæ benigna declaratione,
"qua exercitium jurium majestaticorum Sibi
"reservare dignatur, Status et Ordines plene
"conquiescerent, tam hujus et præmissorum
"intuitu tamen, quam quod si, circumstantiis
"sic exigentibus, pars aliqua regiminis, vivente
"Regia Majestate, S. Domino neocoronando
"Regi deferenda foret, id ipsum absque S. Ma-
"jestatis R. expressa et specifica voluntate, et
"Regnicolarum assensu admittendum non sit,
"sub his comitiis roganda lege semet securos
"reddi exoptant.

"Denique ardentissimum in eo desiderium
"suum Status et Ordines S. Majestati humillime
"proponere cupiunt, ut Eadem inde ab exor-
"dio felicis regiminis Domus Austriacæ omni
"tempore prosecutis assiduis Regnicolarum
"votis deferre, et aliquam adminus anni partem
"in medio fidelis populi exigere; Serenissimus
"autem neocoronandus Rex continuam habita-

"tionem suam intra ambitum Regni, ad men-
"tem legum, defigere dignetur, taliterque mo-
"ribus, lingua, legibusque Regni imbutus,
"perpetuo amoris et fiduciæ fœdere nationi
"Hungaricæ arctius adhuc adstringatur.

"Et hæc sunt, quæ Status et Ordines ad
"primum punctum benignarum propositionum
"regiarum S. Majestati SSæ humillime re-
"præsentanda censent, superatis præmissis,
"mox reliquorum etiam punctorum pertracta-
"tionem ingressuri, orantque S. Serenitatem
"C. R. et E. Proceres, ut prædeducto suo sen-
"sui adstipulari dignentur."

The diploma alluded to by the Estates was consequently, in the case of Ferdinand, to the following purpose :—

"We promise, that the mode of Hereditary Succession to the Kingdom, as well as the Coronation in the spirit of Art. 3, 1791, and all other general Liberties, Properties, Privileges, Statutes, Common Rights, Laws, and Usages, jointly and severally, which have hitherto been granted and confirmed by the glorious Kings of Hungary, Our Ancestors in these Realms, and such likewise which We may in future, from time to time, grant or confirm (to which the said Estates have added a certain formula of an oath, which hath been

recorded, enlarged, and contracted, in the Exordium, to the Decrees of the most Serene Prince and Lord, Ferdinand I., our Ancestor of glorious memory,) excluding always, and cancelling the clause in the decree of the glorious King Andreas I., which decree is dated of the year 1222, and which clause begins with '*Quodsi vero nos*,' and ends with, '*in perpetuum facultatem*,' in all Articles and Clauses, as well as according to their spirit and usual Interpretation (maintaining, however, the Decree of the 8th Art., 1741) and which shall have resulted from a common understanding of the King with the Estates of the country, shall by Us be kept Firm and Sacred, and that We will watch that they are likewise kept firm and sacred by others.

" 2. That We will keep the said Crown of this country, according to the Ancient Custom of the People, and according to the Laws of the Country, by means of some secular Persons, who for that purpose shall have been elected from among the people of this country.

" 3. That We will preserve such Parts of the Kingdom of which possession has already been regained, and that we will add to the Kingdom all parts which we, with the help of God, shall in future regain.

" 4. In the case, which God prevent, of an extinction of the two Families of the Austrian

Archdukes, viz., in case of an extinction of the descendants of Our Great Grandfather, Charles VI. of glorious memory, and in the second instance, in case of an extinction of the descendants of Joseph I., of glorious memory; and in the third instance, in case of an extinction of the descendants of Leopold I., of glorious memory; all of whom were Emperors and Kings of Hungary, We consent that, according to the provisions of Art. 1 and 2, 1723, the right of Electing and Crowning a King shall escheat to the said Estates of the country, and this right shall for ever remain, as of old, so for all future times, with the kingdom of Hungary, and its parts and dependencies aforesaid.

" 5. And We confirm what We before confirmed in Art. 1, that whenever, in the course of time, such a Coronation as this shall take place in the kingdom of Hungary, that Our heirs and successors, those that are to be crowned as Hereditary Kings, shall, before such Coronation, be Bound to confirm this present Diploma by their Sign-manual, and by their Oaths.

" Pursuant, therefore, to the petition of the Estates of our kingdom of Hungary, We Freely and Affectionately give Our Assent to all the clauses of this present diploma, and We confirm and accept the same, and will have it considered that we have accepted, agreed to, confirmed, and

ratified everything which is contained therein, and We promise and pledge to the Estates Our Royal Word, that We will observe the same with all due Diligence and Fidelity, and that We will cause all Our subjects, no matter of what rank and denomination they may be, to observe the same likewise, just as We, by virtue of this present Diploma, accept, agree to, ratify, confirm, and promise the same as above. In confirmation and witness whereof We have added Our own sign-manual to this present Diploma, and we have decreed that Our own Royal Seal shall be imprinted thereon.

"Thus given in Our Free City of Pressburg, this day, the 25th day of September, in the year of the Lord, 1830.

"FERDINAND."

The oath was as follows:—

"We, Ferdinand, by God's Grace, King of Hungary, &c., swear by the Living God, and by His most Holy Mother, the blessed Virgin Mary, and All Saints, that we will preserve and maintain God's Church, and the Prelates, Barons, Magnates, Nobles, Freemen, Citizens, and all other Inhabitants, in all the Immunities, Rights, Laws, and Privileges, according to the old, good, and time-tried Custom, and that we will do Justice to them All.

" And that We will yield due Observance to the Laws of the Most Serene King Andreas (excepting always the clause of 31 Art. of the same decree, commencing with '*Quodsi vero nos*,' and ending with '*in perpetuum facultatem*'), that We will, so far as in us lies, neither cede, nor lessen the frontiers of Our Kingdom of Hungary, and of the Provinces by Right appertaining thereto; but that We will use Our best Endeavors to increase and extend them; and that We will do all in Our Power to promote the Welfare, Prosperity, and Honor of the Estates, and of Our Kingdom of Hungary.

" So help Us God, and all his Saints."

IV.

THE RIGHTS AND GRIEVANCES OF HUNGARY.*

THE preceding documents have fully proved the *rights* to which the Hungarians were at all times entitled. The decree of the Hungarian kingdom, 13th Rudolf II., 1602, of which we subjoin an extract, will show how those rights were violated:—

"Sorely grieved and vexed at heart, the faithful Magnates and Estates feel impelled—as formerly, so now—to complain to God and the King that all their Entreaties, Remonstrances, and Representations, have never helped them to obtain even the slightest mitigation of their Sufferings, Horrors, and Miseries, but that the same have gone on increasing from day to day, and from year to year. When we are told that the Hungarians are in the habit of coming into Parliament with Tears and all kinds of Wailings and woful Lament, and that, when weary of Sighs and of Words, they proceed to business, we will not, indeed, deny that such is

* See Historical Introduction, p. xlvi.

the Case. But who is there that will command the tears of the lacerated and wounded? who will stop the wailings of Children when they submit their sufferings to their Parents?"

* * * * *

"Nor are the grievances of Upper Hungary, Sclavonia, and other parts of the Kingdom, less, and more bearable. In these provinces the Soldiery take possession of cities, market towns, villages, houses, and noble *curias*, as if they had come to them in the due course of inheritance. They divide the Same, and treat the Natives of the soil in their own homes, not as Proprietors, but as Vagrants or Bondsmen. In many places the Foreign Soldiers attack and plunder the cottages of the peasantry, and the seats and possessions of the noblemen. They, by main force, open churches, and graves, rob the corpses and bones of the departed of their funeral dresses, and flagellate, wound, and kill the fathers of families. By force and violence they bear away wives from their husbands, children from their parents, infant daughters from their mothers, chaste virgins from the paternal home, and Abduct them to the haunts of Infamy and Vice, where—may God pity the bitter Sufferings of the Hungarian people!—they are sacrificed to beastly violence, and afterwards brought back, if ransomed with large Sums of Money.

"Large numbers of Dwellers within these Realms, scions of old and honored families, once happy in befitting Affluence—now expelled from all their possessions—wander about, naked, hungry and forlorn, begging, praying for bread at each Door.

"Such is the lamentable Condition of the rest of the Hungarian people—a condition which even hearts of Stone must pity. That people was once eminent in martial Honors, Wealth, and Merit; but at this present time we are bent with severe Affliction, not on account of the *tolerable* dominion of the Turks and Tartars, but on account of the unrestrained Misdeeds of Foreign Soldiers."

V.

THE SERVIAN AND CROATIAN INSURRECTIONS.*

THE following documents want no further comment. Their contradictory tenor will at once destroy even the shadow of a pretence which the defenders of the Vienna Cabinet might make to anything like plain and fair dealing:—

1.

IMPERIAL MANIFESTO ANNOUNCING TO THE CROATIANS AND SCLAVONIANS THAT THE BAN, BARON JOSEPH JELLACHICH, IS SUSPENDED FROM ALL HIS DIGNITIES AND OFFICES.

WE, Ferdinand I., Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, Sclavonia, the Fifth of that name, &c., assure you, Inhabitants of our kingdoms Croatia and Sclavonia, of our sovereign Grace, and issue the following Manifesto; viz.—

Croatians and Sclavonians!—

Our paternal heart found great satisfaction in the hope, that while, complying with the wishes

* See Historical Introduction, p. xlviii.

of our faithful nations, we extended the benefits of constitutional freedom to all our subjects, we thus bound the nations which Providence entrusted to our care, in gratitude to ourselves, and our throne. We trusted, at the same time, that an equalization of rights and liberties would urge our people to brotherly union in the effort for a general improvement, for which we had opened the widest field. Relying as we did on these our intentions, we were painfully struck by the sad discovery that by *you* in particular our expectations were frustrated.

You, Croatians and Sclavonians! who, united to the crown of Hungary for eight centuries, shared all the fates of this country; you, Croatians and Sclavonians! who owe to this very union the constitutional freedom, which alone amongst all Sclavonic nations you have been enabled to preserve; you disappointed our hopes —*you*, who not only have shared in all the rights and liberties of the Hungarian constitution, but who besides—in just recompence of your loyalty, until now stainlessly preserved—were lawfully endowed with peculiar rights, privileges, and liberties, by the grace of our illustrious ancestors, and who, therefore, possess greater privileges than any of the subjects of our sacred Hungarian crown. You disappointed our hopes, to whom the last Diet of the kingdom of Hungary and its

dependencies, according to our own sovereign will, granted full part in all the benefits of the enlarged constitutional liberties, and equality of rights. The legislation of the crown of Hungary has abolished feudal servitude in Croatia as well as in Hungary; and those amongst you who were subjected to *robot*, have without any sacrifice on their part become free proprietors. The landed proprietors receive for their loss an indemnification, which your own means could never provide. That indemnification will be entailed on our Hungarian crown estates with our sovereign ratification, and without any charge to you.

The right also of constitutional representation was extended to the people in your case no less than in Hungary; in consequence of which no longer the nobility alone, but likewise other inhabitants and the Military Frontier, take part by their representatives in the legislation common to all, as much as in the municipal congregations. Thus you may improve your welfare by your immediate co-operation. Until now, the nobility contributed but little to the public expenses; henceforward the proportional repartition of the taxes amongst all inhabitants is lawfully established, whereby you have been delivered from a great burden. Your nationality and municipal rights, relative to which vain and malicious reports

have been spread, with the aim of exciting your distrust, are by no means in danger. On the contrary, both your nationality and your municipal rights are enlarged, and secured against all encroachments; not only is the use of your native language lawfully guaranteed to you for ever in your schools and churches, but it is likewise introduced in the public assemblies, where the Latin language has been until now in use.

Calumniators sought to make you believe that the Hungarian nation desired to suppress your language, or at least to prevent its further development. We ourselves assure you, that such reports are totally false, and that we see with pleasure, that you exert yourselves to develop and establish your own mother tongue, in preference to the dead Latin language. The legislature is willing to support you in your efforts, by providing livings for your priests, to whom the spiritual care of the soul, and the education of your children, is entrusted. For eight centuries you have been united to Hungary. During the whole of that time the legislature has always had due regard for your nationality. How could you, therefore, believe that the legislature, which has guarded your mother-tongue for eight centuries, should now be opposed to it?

And notwithstanding all this, whereas the guarantee of your nationality, and the enlargement

of your constitutional liberties, ought to have been greeted with ready acknowledgment, Persons have been found among you, who, instead of the thankfulness, love, and loyalty which they owe to ourselves, have hoisted the standard of fanatical distrust; who represent the Hungarians as your enemies, and who use every means to sever the two nations, namely, the very same who persecuted your fellow-citizens, and by intimidation which endangered personal safety, forced them to leave their country, because they had attempted to enlighten you as to the real truth. Our deep concern respecting these troubles was heightened by our anxiety, lest perhaps the very man had given up himself to this criminal sedition whom we have overwhelmed with tokens of our royal bounty, and whom we appointed as guardian of the law and security in your country. Our deep concern was heightened by the apprehension, lest this man, abusing the position to which our bounty raised him, had not corrected the notions of the falsely-informed citizens, as he ought to have done; but, animated by party hatred, had still more inflamed their fanaticism; yes, lest, unmindful of his oath as subject, he dared to conspire against the union of Croatia with Hungary, and, hereby, against the integrity of our holy Crown and our Royal Dignity.

Formerly, in Hungary and its dependencies we administered the executive powers by our Hungarian Chancery and Home-Office, and in military concerns, by our Council of War. To the orders issued in this way, the Bans of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Sclavonia were obedient, just as they were bound, in more remote times, to obey the orders of our Hungarian authorities, issued in a different manner and in different forms, according to the mode of administering our executive power arranged by the Parliament with our ratification.

In consequence of the request addressed to us by our faithful States, and guided by our own free will, in the last Hungarian Parliament we graciously sanctioned a law, according to which our beloved cousin, His Imperial Highness the Archduke Stephen, Palatine of Hungary, was, during our absence from Hungary, declared our Royal Lieutenant, who, as such, had to administer the executive power by the hands of our Hungarian Ministers, whom we simultaneously appointed, entrusting them with all authority, which before was vested in the Royal Chancery, the Home-Office, the Treasury, and the Council of War.

In spite of this, Baron Joseph Jellachich, whom we graciously favored with the appointment of Ban of our kingdoms of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Sclavonia, is accused of having the temerity to refuse this due obedience.

We, the King of Hungary, Croatia, Sclavonia, and Dalmatia, we, whose person is sacred to you, we tell you, Croatians and Sclavonians, the law too is sacred, and must be considered so! *We have sworn to the Eternal King of all Kings, that we Ourselves will preserve the Integrity of our Hungarian Crown, and of our Constitution, and that we will no less Ourselves obey the Law than we will have it obeyed by Others.*

We will keep our Royal Oath. We are gracious to our loyal subjects, forbearing to the guilty who repent, but inexorably severe towards obstinate traitors. And we mean to give over to avenging Justice those who presume to trifle with our royal oath. He who revolts against the Law, revolts against our Royal Throne, which rests upon the Law, and Baron Jellachich is accused, with his notorious adherents, of not only opposing the Law, but of persisting in his disobedience, regardless of the paternal exhortations which we have addressed to him.

The first care of our beloved Cousin, the Archduke Palatine, and of our Hungarian Ministry, was, to call upon Baron Jellachich to explain himself in respect to your nationality, your rights, and your liberties; so that, as soon as possible—besides other measures—the Croatian Congress might be assembled, and those laws might thus be published, whose blessings we never intended

to withhold from you, and that after this the Ban should be publicly invested with his dignity; since before this installation he could not be considered as a legitimate dignitary.

Notwithstanding our repeated orders the Baron is accused of having disobeyed, and of having by this disobedience exposed you to the dangers of anarchy. But as though it were not enough that the Ban himself did not obey, he is accused of having seduced the lawful authorities to the same disobedience, and of having *forced* them, no less than the people itself, *by violent means*, to hostile demonstrations against Hungary.

All of you must have witnessed the acts of which he is accused; all of you must have seen whether he persecuted those who wished to preserve the union of Croatia with Hungary, whether he deposed them arbitrarily from their offices, whether he brought a trial by court-martial upon all those who refused to do homage to his political views, and by this means compelled many to flight and emigration; all of you must have seen whether the Ban prevented the legally-appointed Lord-Lieutenants from entering upon their duties; whether he violently seized the funds belonging to the Treasury, and even employed our own troops to perpetrate such arbitrary actions.

You must know whether he arbitrarily charged you with new taxes, *and without any authority*

forced the people to take up arms,—an act which we ourselves cannot authorize without the consent of the legislative power. You must be able to bear witness to, if he allowed, that his notorious adherents incited the populace by false reports relative to the Hungarians, as if they threatened your nationality; if he allowed, that sedition was preached in illegal assemblies; that arbitrary appointments were made; and that in consequence of the excitement occasioned by these proceedings, bloody conflicts, and plunder, and murder have taken place in Hungary. You know the personal affront which has been offered, under the very eyes of the Ban, to an illustrious member of our Royal House, viz. our Lord-Lieutenant, the Archduke Palatine, in the public square of Agram,*—a town which of late has repeatedly been the scene of riots. You must know it, if the Ban punished the perpetrators of such deeds. It cannot be unknown to you, if he really refused obedience to our Royal Commissioner Baron Hrabowszky,† our Privy Councillor, and Lieutenant Field-Marshal, who has been appointed to re-establish public order and security.

Moved by paternal care for the welfare of our

* The portrait of the Archduke Palatine was, in the spring of 1848, publicly burnt in Agram, under the windows of the Ban Jellachich, who did nothing to prevent or to punish this disorder.

† Baron Hrabowszky was arrested by the Austrian authorities at the entrance of Windischgrätz into Pesth.

perhaps misled subjects, we tried the last means —to grant opportunity of personal defence to the accused, before we listened to the complaints against him. We summoned Baron Jellachich to dissolve the Croatian Congress, which, without our sanction, and therefore in defiance of the law, he illegally convoked for the 5th of June of this year; and we ordered him to appear personally before us, in order to effect the conciliation which is needed for re-establishing order in Croatia.

But Jellachich has as little obeyed this our present command, as our former regulations, and has neither dissolved the Congress nor has he appeared before us at the appointed time. Thus, obstinate contempt of our own sovereign command was added to so many complaints against Baron Jellachich. No other means was left, to protect our royal authority against the injury of such conduct, and to uphold the laws, than to send our faithful Privy Councillor, Lieutenant Field-Marshal Hrabowszky, as our Royal Commissioner, to inquire into those unlawful proceedings, and to indict the Baron Jellachich, and his accomplices; and, lastly, *to deprive the Baron Jellachich of his dignity as Ban, and of all his military offices.* I sternly exhort you to renounce all participation in seditions, which aim at a separation from our Hungarian Crown; and under the same penalty I command all

authorities to break off immediately all intercourse with Baron Jellachich, and those who may be implicated in the accusations against him, and to comply unconditionally with the orders of our Royal Commissioner.

Croatians and Sclavonians! We guarantee your nationality and your liberties, and the fulfilment of your just requests, with our royal word; do not therefore credit any seducing insinuations, by which your country is to be given up to oppression and infinite misery.

Listen to the voice of your King addressing you, as many as still are his faithful Croats and Sclavonians.

Herewith we summon every one to publish and spread this Manifesto, according to his loyalty to our sovereign authority.

Given in our town of Innspruck this day, the 10th day of June, 1848.

FERDINAND.

2.

ROYAL SPEECH READ BY ARCHDUKE STEPHEN, PALATINE AND ROYAL LIEUTENANT OF HUNGARY, IN THE NAME OF THE EMPEROR FERDINAND, KING OF HUNGARY, AT THE OPENING OF THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT, JULY 8, 1848.

IN the name, and as representative of our glorious King, Ferdinand V., I hereby open

this Parliament. The extraordinary circumstances in which the country has been placed, make it necessary to summon at once a meeting of the Estates, without waiting for the completion in detail of all the propositions and administrative measures which the responsible Ministers of the Crown were charged and directed by the last Parliament to prepare and complete. Croatia rose in undisguised sedition; in the districts of the Lower Danube, bands of armed rebels broke the peace of the country; and while *it is the sincere wish of his Majesty to avoid a civil war*, his Majesty is, on the other hand, convinced that the assembled representatives of the nation will regard it *as their first and chief duty to provide all the means required for restoring the troubled tranquillity of the country*, preserving the integrity of the Hungarian realm, and maintaining the sacred inviolability of the law. The *defence of the country* and *the state of the finances* will therefore form the chief subject to which, under these extraordinary circumstances, I call the attention of the assembled representatives. His Majesty's responsible ministers will submit to you propositions relating to these points. His Majesty trusts, that the representatives of the nation will adopt speedy and appropriate decisions upon all matters connected with the safety and welfare of the country.

His Majesty has learned with deep feelings of regret and displeasure,—although he in his hearty paternal desire for the happiness of this country, *following solely the impulse of his own desire, sanctioned during the last Parliament*, by giving to them the royal assent, *those laws which were necessary to the progress of the country to prosperity* —yet that, especially in Croatia and on the Lower Danube, evil-minded rebellious agitators have excited the inhabitants of those countries, speaking different languages and holding different creeds, with false reports and terrorism to mutual hostility, and have driven them, under the calumnious representation that those laws were not then sanctioned by His Majesty's own free will, to oppose the said laws and the legal authorities—that some even have gone so far in rebellion as to announce that their violent resistance to the said decrees is for the good of the Royal House, and that His Majesty is privy to their intentions.

For the tranquillization of the inhabitants of those districts, of all tongues and creeds, I therefore hereby declare, under the special commission of his most gracious Majesty our Lord the King, in his name and as his representative, that His Majesty is firmly resolved to exert his royal power for the maintenance of the integrity and inviolability of his crown against all attacks from abroad, and against all discord within the realm, and to as-

sert and enforce at all times the laws he shall have sanctioned. And as His Majesty will allow no one to curtail the freedom assured by the said laws to the inhabitants of the kingdom, *His Majesty expresses his displeasure with the daring conduct of all those who venture to assert that any illegal act or disobedience to the law can have taken place with His Majesty's knowledge or in the interest of his Royal House.*

The Union of Transylvania with Hungary was sanctioned by His Majesty, in part because he by that step fulfilled the earnest desire of his dearly beloved Hungarian and Transylvanian people, and also because the united countries will in future form a firmer support to the throne and to liberty. His Majesty's ministers for Hungary will submit all the details respecting this union to the consideration of the Legislature.

In the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, where the hostile troops of the King of Sardinia and of other Italian powers have attacked His Majesty's army, the war has not yet been brought to a close. With the other foreign powers, the peaceable relations have remained inviolate; and His Majesty has the less doubt of their being maintained, as he reckons it to be the highest duty of his government to neglect nothing which, without injury to the dignity of the throne, and the safety of his loyal subjects and their legitimate interests, may

confirm a peaceable understanding with foreign powers; and His Majesty has a right to hope that, as he adheres to the principle of neutrality as regards the internal affairs of other countries, this neutrality will be responded to on the part of foreign nations. His Majesty has no doubt but that the Parliament, in the interest of the throne and of constitutional freedom, will order, without delay, all that the welfare of the country so urgently demands.

I only fulfil the demands of His Majesty, when I assure the Parliament and the nation of the gracious disposition entertained towards them by our illustrious Lord the King.

3.

MANIFESTO APPOINTING BARON JOSEPH JELLACHICH ROYAL LIEUTENANT AND CIVIL AND MILITARY COMMISSIONER OF HUNGARY.

We, Ferdinand I., Constitutional Emperor of Austria, &c., King of Hungary, Croatia, Sclavonia, Dalmatia, the Fifth of this name, to the Barons, to the High Dignitaries of the Church and State, to the Magnates and Representatives of Hungary, its Dependencies, and the Grand Duchy of Tran-

sylvania, in Parliament assembled, in our free and royal city of Pesth, Our greeting.

Whereas, we have been both grieved and offended at the House of Representatives having been seduced by Kossuth and his adherents to great illegalities; the same having carried out several illegal resolutions against our Royal will; viz. it has lately, on the 27th of September, issued a resolution against the commission of the Royal Commissioner, Our Lieutenant Field-Marshal, Count Francis Lamberg, appointed by Ourselves to re-establish peace. In consequence of which, this our Royal Commissioner, before he could produce his commission, was in the public street violently attacked by sundry persons, who murdered him in the most atrocious manner. Under these circumstances, we see ourselves compelled, according to Our royal duty, for the maintenance of the security and the law, to take the following measures, and to command their enforcement:—

1st. We dissolve the Parliament by this our decree; so that after the publication of these presents, the Parliament has immediately to close its Session.

2ndly. We declare as illegal, void, and invalid, all the resolutions, and the measures of the Parliament, which we have not sanctioned.

3rdly. All troops, and armed bodies of every

kind, whether national guards, or volunteers, which are stationed in Hungary and its dependencies, as well as in Transylvania, are placed, by this Our Decree, under the chief command of our Ban of Croatia, Sclavonia, and Dalmatia, Lieutenant Field-Marshal Baron Joseph Jellachich.

4thly. Until peace and order shall be restored in the country, the kingdom of Hungary shall be subjected to Martial Law; in consequence of which, the respective authorities are meanwhile to abstain from holding congregations of the counties, as well as of the municipalities, and of the districts.

5thly. Our Ban of Croatia, Sclavonia, and Dalmatia, Baron Joseph Jellachich, is hereby invested and empowered as Commissioner of Our Royal Majesty; and we give him full power and force, that he may, in the sphere of Executive Ministry, exercise the authority with which, as Lieutenant of Our Royal Majesty, we have invested him in the present extraordinary circumstances.

In consequence of these our Sovereign letters patent, we declare that whatsoever the Ban of Croatia shall order, regulate, determine, and command, is to be considered as ordered, regulated, determined, and commanded by Our Royal Authority. In consequence of which, we likewise by this

graciously give command to all our ecclesiastical, civil, and military Authorities, Officers, and High Dignitaries of our Kingdom of Hungary, its Dependencies, and Transylvania, as well as to all their inhabitants, that all the orders signed by Baron Jellachich, as our legal Royal Commissioner, shall be by them obeyed, and enforced, in the same way as they are bound to obey our Royal Majesty.

6thly. We peculiarly enjoin our Royal Commissioner to provide that the assailants and murderers of our Royal Commissioner, Count Lamberg, as well as the authors of and participators in the said revolting and disgraceful action, shall be punished with the full severity of the laws.

7thly. The remaining current business of the civil administration shall, meanwhile, be transacted by the officers of the ministerial departments, according to the regulations of the law.

It will be established besides, in the legal way, after consulting the representatives of all parts of our realms, in what way the preservation of the Unity, and the direction of the common interests of the whole Monarchy, can be lastingly re-established in future; in what way the equality of rights of all nationalities can be guaranteed for ever, and how the reciprocal relations of all the

countries and nations, united under our Crown, are on this basis to be ordained.

Given in Our Imperial Palace at Schönbrunn, this day, the 3rd day of October, 1848.

(Signed) FERDINAND.

(Countersigned) ADAM RECSEY.

VI.

LOUIS KOSSUTH'S SPEECH OF THE 11TH JULY, 1848.

GENTLEMEN,—In ascending the tribune to demand of you to save our country, the greatness of the moment weighs oppressively on my soul. I feel as if God had placed into my hands the trumpet, to arouse the dead, that—if still sinners and weak—they may relapse into death! but that they may wake for eternity, if any vigour of life be yet in them. Thus, at this moment, stands the fate of the nation! Gentlemen, with the decision on my motion, God has confided to your hands the decision affecting the life or the death of our people. But it is because this moment is most important, that I am determined not to have recourse to the weapons of rhetoric; for, however opinions in this house may differ, I find it impossible not to believe—impossible not to feel the conviction—that the sacred love of our country, and such a feeling for her honor, inde-

pendence, and liberty, as to render this assembly ready to sacrifice its last drop of blood, are common to us all in an equal degree. But where such a feeling is common, there no stimulus is required: cool reason alone has to choose amongst the remedies. Gentlemen, the country is in danger! Perhaps it would suffice to say thus much; for, with the dawn of liberty, the dark veil has dropped from the nation. You know what the condition of our country is; you know that besides the troops of the line, a militia of about 12,000 men has been organised; you know that the authorities have been empowered to place corps of the National Guard on a war footing, in order to establish an effective force to defend the country, and to punish sedition, which is rife on our frontiers. This command found an echo in the nation. How could this have been unless the nation felt that there is danger? This in itself is an evident proof that the presentiment of danger is general. Nevertheless, gentlemen, I think I ought to give you a general, if not a detailed sketch of the state of our country.

At the dissolution of the last Parliament, and when the first responsible Cabinet entered on its functions with an empty exchequer—without arms, without means of defence; it was impossible not to see and to grieve in seeing the terrible neglect which the interests of the country had

suffered. I myself was one of the many who for years have called upon the executive power and the nation, to be just at length to the people, for the day would come when it would be too late for justice. The feeling for justice, of patriotism perhaps, and general enthusiasm, may yet avert from our heads the full force of the fatal word, "Too late!" Thus much is certain, that the nation and the executive power have retarded justice; and that by this very delay, the moment when first they became just to the people caused the overthrow of all existing institutions.

Under such circumstances we took the reins of government, menaced by treachery, rebellion, reactionary movements, and by all those passions which the policy of Metternich leagued to us as a cursed inheritance. Scarcely had we assumed the government—nay, not all of us had even assembled—when we already received the most authentic information that the Pansclavonic agitation had no other object than to excite the whole of the upper provinces to open rebellion, and that even the day had been fixed when the outbreak should take place in Schemnitz. But I would only furnish outlines—I desist, therefore; and will only add that, for the present, the upper province is tranquil. This quiet, however, is by no means a safe tranquillity; it is a fire that smoulders under the ashes. In the heart of the

country, even amongst the Hungarian race itself —which on the banks of the Drave, and in the vicinity of the O-Kérer camp, gives proofs of its vitality, with such soul-elating readiness for sacrifices,—it was by no means an easy task, after so long a slavery, to familiarise the people with the idea of liberty, and to lay down its first principles. For agitators were not sparing in their efforts to excite the people's fears concerning those—I cannot find words—gifts, but rights, which the last Parliament had granted them. Nine weeks have since elapsed. In the interior prevails quiet, and the Hungarian race is prepared for sacrifice, and voluntarily—not from compulsion—it carries its life where it is needed.

Croatia is in open rebellion! Many years have elapsed, gentlemen, when not only one or the other, but numbers, called the attention of the Government to the fact, that in encouraging—I say not forgiving, but *encouraging*—the Illyric agitation, it would nourish a serpent in its bosom which would compass the ruin of the Dynasty. And since the revolutionary state in which we find Europe shaking on her foundations, the gentlemen in those parts fancied they might with impunity break out in open rebellion. Had Hungary given any cause whatever for this rebellion, she would, without considering the fact that there is a revolution, ask you to be just to Croatia,

and to subdue the revolt, not with the force of arms, but with the sacred name of justice.

Entertaining, as I do, such sentiments, I am obliged to throw a transient glance on the relations between Hungary and Croatia. Gentlemen, you are aware that the nation has granted all its rights and privileges to Croatia, and that already at a time when it only conferred its own rights on the most favored nationalities. Since Arpad, Hungary possessed no right whatever in which Croatia, from the date of her alliance with us, did not participate. But besides having shared with us every right, Croatia obtained in addition, and at our expense too, particular privileges. I find in history, that the large parts of great empires have reserved for themselves certain rights—that Ireland, for instance, possesses less than England; but that the greater part of a whole nation should deny itself rights in favor of a small minority, is a fact which stands isolated, but not the less glorious, in the relations of Hungary with Croatia. Where is a reason to be found that, even if we take up arms to quell the disturbance, we should feel in our own hearts the conviction of having ourselves provoked the disturbance? In the past no such reason exists; nor has, perhaps, the last Parliament, which opened a new epoch in the life of the nation, caused any change whatever in

the late and so particularly favorable circumstances of Croatia. I say, no! The rights we have acquired for ourselves, we have likewise acquired for Croatia; the liberty that was granted to the people, was likewise granted to the Croats; we extended the indemnity allowed by us to our nobility, at our own expense, to Croatia—for that country is too small and powerless to raise herself the indemnity.

With regard to nationality, Croatia entertained apprehensions—though produced by various conceptions and by erroneous ideas—for the Parliament has expressly decreed that in public life the Croats should have the fullest right to make use of their own language in accordance with their own statutes; and thus their nationality has been sanctioned, by this public recognition. Their municipal rights the Parliament has not only not impaired, but extended and augmented.

Is there a greater privilege than that of regulating the election of representatives, which representatives are convoked to frame laws, to grant and to protect liberty? And the Parliament has said:—"You, our Croatic brethren, shall decide amongst yourselves how to elect your representatives!" By this measure, the last Parliament has consolidated the municipal independence of Croatia. If, therefore, in the past, no reason can

be found to excuse this rebellion, surely the acts of the last Parliament offer none.

Or does the fault lie with the ministers? We have taken a step, Gentlemen, for which we are responsible. Had we succeeded in pacifying the excited minds, I should feel glad indeed to mention it; as it is, I must refer to it with the confession, that the Cabinet in this instance has somewhat exceeded the limits of the law;—it exceeded the limits, for it deemed it impossible to allow the natural consequences of the law to prevail. If the Parliament has recognised the right of the Croats to conduct their own affairs in their own language, the Cabinet, on account of such circumstances, believed itself justified to extend this recognition of their nationality likewise to their relations with the Government, and decreed to correspond with Croatia in the Hungarian language, with the addition of a Croatian translation, and in this manner to issue all decrees. The Croats attach much importance to the power of their Ban: the last Parliament has not only preserved this Ban's power inviolate, but at the same time ensured his influence upon the whole Government, by framing a law for the Ban to take part in the councils of the State. The Cabinet, therefore, considered nothing of greater importance than immediately to invite the Ban (whom the power that has fallen under the lash

of truth and liberty, in the last moment of its existence, forced upon us like a curse, that he might essay whether the demon of diabolical reaction could not again be raised!) to take his seat in the councils of State of the Palatine Stephen, and to confer with the Cabinet how tranquillity, peace, and order might best be re-established in Croatia, and to state the just demands of the Croats, to a compliance with which the Cabinet expressed its ready assent, provided it should be in its power to obtain their sanction; if not, it would bring before you, the representatives of the nation, a motion, and stake its own existence on the carrying of the measure. The Ban did not appear: obstinately he refused the invitation, confiding not in the law, but in a Rebellion, at the head of which he has placed himself, while he pronounced his secession from the Hungarian crown.

I will not deny that Croatia has to complain of special grievances which, up to this day, remained without redress; but neither the Cabinet nor the nation have occasioned them—they are simply an heir-loom which the old Government left behind. The nation, however, has always made these grievances its own, and left nothing untried to amend them, as it would have done if they had indeed been its own. And this was certainly one of the causes why we invited the Ban, on his

nomination by His Majesty, to co-operate with the Cabinet in accomplishing the speedy removal of the grievances, for we were conscious not only of our authority, but of our duty to re-establish the law where it is injured. But by his revolt the Ban has prevented the Cabinet from communicating its decree to the Croats respecting their petition laid before His Majesty in the Provincial Diet in 1845. Under all these circumstances, the Cabinet, nevertheless, has not omitted to do what it considered necessary to pacify Croatia and its fellow-citizens. The past Parliament conferred the franchise on the military frontier—and thus gave them a right which they never had possessed. To effect its realisation, the Cabinet has not only made such arrangements as were in its power, but has left no means whatever untried by which the population of the frontiers might be gained. It authorised and empowered the commander, Baron Hrabowsky, as Royal Commissioner, to make the land of the inhabitants of the frontiers their own property, in the same manner as the Hungarian urbarial-subjects have received theirs, and to cause the crown-soccage there to be abolished; it authorised him to confer on them the new privilege of exerting themselves in commerce, trade, and arts; it empowered him to facilitate

in every possible way the free choice of domicile; it empowered him to introduce into the so-called free communities the communal system which exists in the localities provided with a regular magistracy, on a civic basis, and with free power of the people of electing its own authorities. At the same time it decreed that the people itself should elect, according to communities and districts, men to come to this House, and impart and explain to the Cabinet the wishes of the people, that we might, without delay, grant whatever could lawfully be granted. But they — these unfortunate, deluded men — replied with sedition, with rebellion, so that no further opportunity offered itself to realise the benefits which, weeks ago, we felt inclined to bestow.

Of their nationality I have already spoken. Concerning its official duties, the Cabinet, from the very outset, selected a number of individuals from the provinces, without making any party-distinction—nay, for the Croatian affairs it has, in various branches of the administration, formed distinct sections, which are not yet filled up, because the tie between us has been forcibly torn. One of the loudest complaints was, that in the Litorate, which supplies Croatia up to the Save with sea-salt, the importation of common

salt is prohibited. We have allowed the importation of common salt, and lowered the price considerably.

In one word, we have not neglected anything whatever which within the limits of integrity, of liberty, and of the rights of the people, we could do to pacify their minds. We, Gentlemen, can therefore not admit that on the part of the Cabinet the slightest cause has been given to provoke the Croatian rebellion.

If a people thinks the liberty it possesses too limited, and takes up arms to conquer more, it certainly plays a doubtful game—for a sword has two edges. Still I can understand it. But if a people says, Your liberty is too much for me, I will not have it if you give it me, but I will go and bow under the old yoke of Absolutism —that is a thing which I endeavor in vain to understand.

The case, however, stands nearly thus: In the so-called petition which was sent to His Majesty by the Conventicle of Agram, they pray that they may be allowed to separate from Hungary—not to be a self-consistent, independent nation, but to submit to the Austrian Ministry. This, Gentlemen, is the part of the old Vendée, which no Terrorism on our side has provoked, and which under the mask of sham-loyalty spins reactionary intrigues. Or is it loyalty, I ask,

that they refuse to belong to the Hungarian crown, which, as the symbol of the people of these realms, is not only the most powerful, but also the sole reliance of His Majesty and the Dynasty? Or is it a proof of fidelity, not to obey the Hungarian, but the Austrian Ministry, which receives its commands from the whims of the Aula,* and which possessed not even the power to protect its Lord and King, who was compelled to flee from the house of his ancestors? Or do they, perhaps, give proof of greater fidelity by expressing the will of depending of the Viennese Ministry, which, if it were a Ministry (for at present it is no such thing), and if it were to be asked, "Who is your master—whose orders do you obey?—the Emperor's, the Aula's, the Diet's at Vienna, or the Regent's at Frankfurt?" would be unable to make a reply; a Ministry which not even knows whether its Prince will be subject to the Frankfurt Assembly, whether Austria will be drowned in great Germany, or whether the small Vienna will swallow Germany? But they allege that from a sentiment of loyalty they oppose King Ferdinand V.! I do not, indeed, ascribe to the sentiment of freedom so great an influence on the masses, as not to be persuaded that even this sham-loyalty,

* *Viz.* the Academic Legion of Vienna.

in its awkward affectation, is but an empty pretext under which other purposes are concealed. On the part of the leaders it covers the reactionary tendency; but on the other hand, this idea is connected with the plan of erecting an Austro-Sclavonian Monarchy. They say: "Let us send deputies to Vienna; let us procure the majority for the Sclavonian element, and Austria will cease to be a German empire; and what with the Bohemians, and our people down here, a new Sclavonian empire will rise." This is a rather hazardous game, and Europe will probably soon decide on the question; for if we should not master these affairs, they will become a European question. Thus much is certain, that this combination (if of any consequence at all) will doubtless involve the ruin of the Austrian Dynasty. There can be no doubt about it.

His Highness the Archduke John, named Regent of Germany, took his departure for Germany the day before yesterday. In a few days he returns, and then we shall see whether there is any hope of an arrangement. That insane demand, however, of the Croats, that on the part of Hungary, if an arrangement is contemplated, all preparations for war shall cease, we have "*indignato pectore*" rejected; and we have considered it to be our duty to declare that the Hungarians, come what may, will arm! that the

Government will concentrate all its power, and has, therefore, convoked the Parliament to be enabled to make more mighty preparations. It would not be advisable, and you will not indeed demand, that I should demonstrate by figures those forces which are concentrated on the Drave by the energy of our Commissioner Czányi. But thus much I can say, that of the importance of those forces, sufficient proof is afforded by the circumstance that up to this moment the Croats, though long since desirous of the bread and the wine of our beautiful Hungarian land, have not dared to enter our territory; they could not have attempted it, without being repulsed, although they were prepared, while we had to make our preparations.

Another affair is the Servian rebellion in the lower countries. Words cannot trace its motives! Croatia, although a land bound to the Hungarian crown, which cannot loose the binding tie without committing high treason, is nevertheless a distinct land. But he that wishes to establish on the territory of Hungary a distinct power, is so great a traitor, so arrant a rebel, that he can only be answered with the rope of the "Statarium." But, Gentlemen, the shedding of blood is, even in case of guilt, a matter of great importance. Whilst the Government, therefore, took into consideration, that to force the misguided masses into the

horrors of a civil war, merely on account of the faults of some ambitious criminals, would, in these excited and revolutionary times, be an act for the omission of which we should deserve the approbation of God and man, we have, even in this respect, left nothing untried. We have, therefore, made preparations for the realisation of all those wishes which in this case could possibly present themselves. But I believe, that without an injury to the integrity of the country, no other wish could here transpire except the convocation of the congress for the benefit of the religious creed of the Hungaro-Servians, which the old Government had not convoked for many years.

This decree has been issued, but the Archbishop Rajachich has thought proper to convene at Karlowitz a meeting of the people, and to proclaim it as the Servian National Assembly, upon which the assembled multitude, amounting, with the hordes of robbers who had intruded from adjoining Servia, to several thousands, usurped a national position, declared the Banat, the Batska, Syrmia, and Baranya, their property, and elected for themselves a Patriarch and Woiwode.

Upon the first signs of these disturbances we despatched royal commissioners, while we endeavored to collect our armies. But, under existing circumstances, to collect troops on which we can

rely, is by no means an easy task. It is therefore, I believe, to be considered a great advantage for the country that we have obstructed this rebellious insurrection in its upward progress; that we have repulsed it from the frontier, and have thus preserved the country from an inundation up to the moment when we shall have collected a sufficient force to swoop down like eagles, and to crush the robber-hordes.

While we were concentrating our forces, the Royal Commissioner P. Czernovics deemed it prudent to try peaceful negotiations, and after having opened a correspondence with the leaders of the rebellion, concluded an armistice of ten days, in which time the leaders have to dismiss their hordes, and they are not only themselves to return to their allegiance, but they have likewise to lead back to obedience the unfortunate and deluded people. This armistice expires on the 4th of July, and the Royal Commissioner has concluded it on his own responsibility, without being specially authorised thereto; but having been empowered, as Royal Commissioner, by all requisite means to re-establish peace, he was of opinion that this measure would have that effect; and this, then, is one of those measures the approbation or condemnation of which depends on its result. At this moment a considerable military force stands under the command of a general,

as expert, and as great a tactician, as he is courageous and brave. His plan of operation has been drawn on the spot, and has been communicated to the Minister of War, who approves of it. The actions of a general on the field of battle, being purely strategetic, ought, in my opinion, to be exempt from publicity,—for we will not go back to the time when the Imperial War Council in Vienna directed from its easy chair the Hungaro-Turkish field-battles, and in consequence of which, we were either defeated, or, if such was not the case, it only originated in the fact of a commander being present who pocketed the order of battle, and thus beat the Turks. (Cheers.)

I will only allude to one topic more. Since yesterday a rumour is current that a renewed armistice had been concluded with the Servian rebels. I and the whole of the Cabinet know nothing of this. Our last reports up to the 6th contain not the remotest intelligence respecting it, nor do they warrant any such conclusions; on the contrary, instead of an armistice, we look hourly forward to reports of battle and victory. I will not say how many soldiers we have in those parts, or how great our power is; but I rejoice in being able to state, that the readiness of the Hungarian nation for the defence of the country has by far exceeded my hopes and confidence. A few years ago I said despondingly,

I wished God would vouchsafe to give me one point only, relying on which I could say, this nation knows to feel for liberty, and I would not despair of its future. The Almighty has granted me life to see that day, and I doubt no longer the future of the nation! (Loud cheers.)

The third of the circumstances, Gentlemen, which exhort us to place the country in a state of defence, is the position of the countries on the Lower Danube. As I exact from every nation, with regard to Hungary, not to interfere with her internal affairs, so the Hungarian will not meddle with the internal affairs of those nations. I only mention that on the banks of the Pruth a mighty Russian army has appeared which can turn to the right and to the left, which can act as a friend and as an enemy; but even because either one and the other is possible, the nation must be prepared.

The fourth circumstance is the Bosnian frontier, where, according to the latest intelligence, the Bosnian Vezier establishes a camp of from 40,000 to 50,000 men, to observe with attention the disturbances in Servia, and to be enabled to act in the interest of his government as his duty commands. It has happened that Bosnian Rajahs, in great numbers, and armed, entered Croatia, and pleaded for so doing, persecution by the Turks and a desire of finding an asylum. According to

Turkish custom, some oppressive acts have certainly taken place; but this much I can say, that on the part of the Sublime Porte no new hostile steps have been taken against the Christian Rajahs, who, therefore, have only arrived for the purpose of participating in the robberies and disturbances here in the country. To prevent the passing of the frontiers is the second cause of the Bosnian Vezier's armament; and at present we have no reason to doubt that the position of the Seraskier of Bosnia is friendly towards us.

Finally, Gentlemen, I must allude to our relations with Austria. I will be just, and therefore I find it but natural that the Government of Vienna feels grieved at its inability further to dispose over Hungary. But even if natural, grief is nevertheless not always just; still less does it follow, that from sympathy with grief the nation should incline to permit any of its rights to be alienated. (Cheers.)

Yes, Gentlemen, most undoubtedly such movements take place which have for their object to restore to the Viennese Government, if not all, at least the departments of war and finance; the rest will soon follow. If, then, they once have the power of the purse and sword, they will soon have power over the whole nation. The Croatian movement is evidently connected with this scheme, for Jellachich has declared that he cares not for

liberty, and that it is all the same to him whether or not the Government at Vienna again obtains possession of the departments of War and Finance. And in the last days the veil of these public secrets has been lifted without reserve. The Viennese Ministers have thought proper, in the name of the Austrian Emperor, to declare to the Cabinet of the King of Hungary, that, unless we make peace with the Croats at any price, they will act in opposition to us. This is as much as to say, that the Austrian Emperor declares war to the King of Hungary; or to his own self. Whatever opinion you, Gentlemen, may have formed of the Cabinet, I believe you may so far rely on our patriotic feelings and on our honor, as to render it superfluous on my part to tell you that we have replied to this menace in a manner becoming the dignity of the nation. But, just when our reply was on its way, a second note arrived which clearly stated what a horrible man the Minister of Finance must be to refuse a grant of money to the rebel Jellachich. For since Croatia has broken out in open rebellion, I have of course suspended the remittance of money to the Commander-General at Agram. I should not be worthy to breathe the free air of Heaven—nay, the nation ought to spit me in the face—had I given money to our enemy. But the gentlemen of Vienna hold a different opinion: they considered my refusal as

a disgusting desire to undermine the monarchy. They have put their shoulders to the wheel, and transmitted to the dear rebel 100,000, so they say, but in reality 150,000 florins in silver. This act, Gentlemen, might excite the whole House to an angry spirit, to national indignation,—but be not indignant, Gentlemen, for the Ministry which by adopting such a miserable policy believed for a time to prolong its precarious existence, exists no longer. The Aula has crushed it. And I hope, whoever the men may be that compose the next Ministry, they will understand that, without breaking their oath of allegiance to the Austrian Emperor, who is likewise King of Hungary, and without siding with the rebels against their Lord and master, they cannot in future adopt that policy without bidding also defiance to Hungary, which, in that case, would throw the broken alliance at the feet of Austria, which feeds rebellion in our own country, and that we would look for friends in other quarters!

Gentlemen, I have no cause to complain of the Austrian nation; I wish they had power and a leader, both of which have hitherto been wanting. What I have said refers to the Austrian Ministry. I hope that my words have also been heard at Vienna, and that they will exert some influence on the policy of the new Ministers.

The Austrian relations, the affairs of the coun-

tries on the Lower Danube, the Servian disturbances, the Croatian rebellion, Pansclavonian agitators, and the reactionary movements—all these circumstances taken together cause me to say the nation is in danger, or rather, that it will be in danger, unless our resolution be firm! And in this danger, where and with whom are we to look for protection? Are we to look to foreign alliances? I will not form too low an estimate of the importance of relations with foreign countries, and I think that the Cabinet would be guilty of a dereliction of duty, if, in this respect, we were not to exert ourselves to the utmost of our power.

In the first moments of our assuming office, we entered into correspondence with the British Government, and explained that Hungary has not, as many have attempted to promulgate, extorted rights and liberties from her King, but that we stand on common ground; with our Lord and King we have further entered into an explanation of the interests we have in common on the Lower Danube. On the part of the British Government we have received a reply, such as we might have expected from the liberal views, and from the policy of that nation. In the meanwhile we may rest convinced that England will only assist us if, and as far as she finds it consistent with her own interests.

As for France, I entertain for the French, as the champions of liberty, the most lively sympathy, but I am, nevertheless, not inclined to see the life of my nation dependent upon their protection and their alliance. France has just seen a second 18th Brumaire. France stands on the threshold of a Dictatorship; perhaps the world may see a second Washington: it is most likely that we shall see a second Napoleon rising out of the ashes of the Past. This much is certain: France can give us a lesson that not every revolution is for the interest of liberty, and that a nation, *striving for liberty, can be placed under the yoke of tyranny most easily when that liberty exceeds proper limits.* It is indeed a most lamentable event for such a nation as the glorious French nation undoubtedly is, that in the streets of Paris the blood of 12,000 citizens has been shed by the hand of their fellow-citizens. May God preserve us from such a fury in our own country! But whatever form the affairs of France may assume—whether that man whom Providence has placed at the head of that nation becomes a second Washington, who knows to reject the crown, or a second Napoleon, who, on the ruins of the people's liberty, erects the temple of his sanguinary glory; one thing is certain—that France is far from us. Poland relied on French sympathy; that sympathy existed, but Poland is no more!

The third is the German empire. Gentlemen, I say it openly, I feel that Hungary is destined to live with the free German nation, and that the free German nation is destined to live with the free Hungarian nation, in sincere and friendly intercourse, and that the two must superintend the civilisation of the German East. From this point of view, then, we have thought of a German alliance, and as soon as Germany made the first step towards her Unity by convoking the Frankfurt Parliament, we considered it to be one of our first duties to send two of our countrymen, (one of whom has now been elected President by this House,) to Frankfurt, where they have been received with the respect which is due to the Hungarian nation. But just because the Frankfurt Assembly was still struggling for existence, and because that body had not developed itself with which negotiations could have been brought to a result (this can only be done with the Ministry to be constituted after the election of the Regent), there is even now one of our ambassadors in Frankfurt to negotiate, as soon as official relations can with propriety be opened, respecting the league which we desire to enter into with Germany—though with the proviso that we will not abate a hair's breadth from our rights, from our consistency, from our national freedom, for

the sake either of liberty or of menaces, from whomsoever they may proceed.

The danger, therefore, is great; or rather, a danger threatening to become great, gathers on the horizon of our country, and we ought, above all, to find in ourselves the strength for its removal. *That nation alone will live which in itself has sufficient vital power; that which knows not to save itself by its own strength, but only by the aid of others, has no future.** I therefore demand of you, Gentlemen, a great resolution: Proclaim that, in just appreciation of the extraordinary circumstances on account of which the Parliament has assembled, the nation is determined to bring the greatest sacrifices for the defence of its crown, of its liberty, and of its independence, and that in this respect it will at no price enter with any one into a transaction which even in the least might injure the national independence and liberty, but that it will be always ready to grant all reasonable wishes of every one. But in order to realise this important resolution, either by mediating, if possible, an honorable peace, or by fighting a victorious battle; the Government is to be authorised by the nation to raise the

* These words of 1848 are a prophecy and a condemnation of what Austria did in 1849.

effective strength of the army to 200,000 men, and for this purpose to equip immediately 40,000 men, and the rest as the protection of the country and the honor of the nation may demand. The expense of raising an army of 200,000 men, its armament, and its support for one year, will amount to forty-two millions of florins—but that of raising 40,000 men, from eight to ten millions of florins. Gentlemen, if you assent to my motion, I propose within a few days to lay before the House a detailed financial plan; but I here mention beforehand, that nothing is further from my thoughts than to ask of the nation a taxation of forty-two millions of florins: on the contrary, my plan is that every one shall contribute according to his means, and if that will not cover the expense, we shall be obliged to let our credit make up the deficiency. I rejoice at being able to declare that the plan which I mean to propose is based upon an estimate which agrees with the rates of taxation as fixed a century ago by Maria Theresa for Transylvania, and which in reality is much more moderate. Should my plan be adopted, and should the House make an especial proviso that the readiness for the sacrifice on the part of the Representatives of the nation shall not dwindle away without result, the nation will be able to bear the burden, and to save the country. In case the imposed taxation should

not suffice for the establishment of a military power—such as circumstances urgently demand, I claim the power for the Executive to open a credit to any amount which the Representatives may deem necessary. This credit shall supply the deficiency either as a loan, or by the issue of paper-money, or by some other financial operation.

These are my proposals! (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I am of opinion that the future of the nation depends on the resolution of the House on my motion; and not alone on that resolution, but in a great measure on the manner in which we form it. And this is the reason, Gentlemen, why I refrained from mixing this question with the debate on the address. I believe, if a nation is threatened on every side, and if it feels in itself the will and the power to repel the danger, that the question of the preservation of the country ought not to be tacked to any other question.

This day we are the Ministers of the nation; to-morrow, others may take our place: no matter! The Cabinet may change, but thou, O my country! thou must for ever remain, and the nation, with this or any other Cabinet, must save the country. But in order that this or any other set of men may be able to save it, the nation must develop its strength. To avoid all misunderstanding, I declare solemnly and expressly,

that I demand of the House 200,000 soldiers, and the necessary pecuniary grants. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, what I meant to say is, that this request on the part of the Government ought not to be considered as a vote of confidence. No, we ask for your vote for the preservation of the country! And I would ask you, Gentlemen, if anywhere in our country a breast sighs for liberation, or a wish waits for its fulfilment, let that breast suffer yet a while, let that wish have a little patience, until we have saved the country. (Cheers.) This is my request! You all have risen to a man, and I bow before the nation's greatness! If your energy equals your patriotism, I will make bold to say, that even the gates of Hell shall not prevail against Hungary!

VII.

THE CAPITULATION OF KOMORN.

MAGYAR TEXT.

" Komárom várának megadása, következö feltételek alatt.

" 1-ör A várörségnek szabad kivonulása, fegyver nélkül; a tisztek kardjai nálluk tulajdonul megmaradnak.—

" Azon tiszteknek, kik ezelött a cs. kir. hadseregben szolgáltak, külföldre szólló útilevelek kiadatnak;—azoknak kik illyeket nem kivánnak, hazájokbani szabad elbocsátás engedtetik,—kivéve azokat, kik önként beállanak.—

" A honvéd tiszteknek, t. i. azoknak, kik ezelött nem szolgáltak, honukbani szabad megmaradás engedtetik—jövendö alkalmazásukra nézve minden fönntartás nélkül.—

" A cs. kir. ezredekbeli legénységnek közbocsánat adatik;—valamint mind azon egyének is, kik idöközben tiszti állásra léptettek, hasonlólag szabadon bocsáttatnak; s mindazokra, kik itt

érdekeltetvék, többé semminemü törvényes keresetnek helye nincsen.

" 2-or Külföldre szólló útlevelek mindazoknak adatnak, kik illyeket 30 nap alatt kivánnak.

" 3-or A várörségi tiszteknek egy havi dij,— a legénységnek pedig 10 napi zsóld adatik osztrák bankjegyekben, osztrák cs. kir. hadiilletmény szerint.

" 4-er A várörségnek, kincstári utalványok kiadása által elöidézett kötelezettségei kiegyenlitésére 500 ezer pgö forintok fizettetnek osztrák bankjegyekben.

" 5-ör A Komáromban létezö rokkant és beteg harczosok jövöje biztosittatik.—

" 6-szor Ingó és ingatlan magányvagyonát, egyáltalában mindenki megtartja.—

" 7-er A fegyverlerakásnak helye, ideje és módja utólagosan fog meghatároztatni.

" 8-or Minden ellenségeskedések ezennel mindkét részröl megszüntetnek.

" 9-er A vár hadi szokás,—és mindkét részröli helybenhagyás után átadatik.—

" Kelt a Herkály-Pusztán 1849-dik évi September 27-kén.

" Haynau s. k.,
" Szer-tábornagy.

" Takács s. k., százados.
" Gasparitz s. k., százados.
" Mednyánszky s. k., alezredes.

" Prágay János s. k., alezredes.
" Ruttkay István s. k., alezredes.
" Gróf Zichy Otto s. k., ezredes.
" Gróf Eszterházy Pál s. k., ezredes.
" Janik János s. k., ezredes.
" Szabó Zsigmond s. k., ezredes térparancsnok.
" Kászonyi József s. k., ezredes.
" Assermann Ferencz s. k., ezredes várparancsnok.
" Klapka György s. k., vár és hadsereg főparancsnoka."

GERMAN TEXT.

" Unterwerfung der Festung Komorn unter folgenden Bedingungen!

" 1. Freier Abzug der Garnison ohne Waffen; die Säbel der Offiziere bleiben ihr Eigentum.

" Denjenigen Offizieren, die früher in der k. k. Armee gedient haben, werden Pässe in das Ausland erfolgt; denjenigen die solche nicht ansprechen, wird die freie Entlassung in ihre Heimat gestattet, — mit Ausnahme jener die sich freiwillig stellen.

" Den Honvéd-Offizieren, das heiszt denjenigen, die früher nicht gedient haben, wird der freie Aufenthalt in ihrer Heimat ohne Reservation ihrer künftigen Verwendung gestattet.

" Die Mannschaft der k. k. Regimenter wird

amnestirt und so wie jene Individuen, welche inzwischen zu Offizieren befördert wurden, ebenfalls frei gelassen und findet für Alle hier Beteiligten keine weitere gerichtliche Verfolgung statt.

" 2. Pässe in das Ausland, werden Allen jenen ertheilt, welche solche innerhalb 30 Tagen ansprechen.

" 3. Eine ein monatliche Gage für die Offiziere und eine 10 tägige Löhnung für die Mannschaft der Garnison, wird in österreichischen National-Banknoten, nach der österreichischen k. k. Kriegsgebühr verabfolgt.

"4. Zur Ausgleichung der verschiedenen von der Garnison, durch Kriegskassa-Anweisungen, eingegangenen Verpflichtungen wird die Summe von 500,000 sage Fünfmalhunderttausend Gulden in Conv. Münze österreichische Banknoten ausbezahlt.

" 5. Versorgung der in Komorn befindlichen verkrüppelten und in den Spitälern kranken Krieger.

" 6. Mobiles und inmobiles Privatvermögen wird im allgemeinen beibehalten.

" 7. Ort, Zeit und Weise der Waffenablegung wird nachträglich bestimmt.

" 8. Alle Feindseligkeiten werden beiderseits sogleich eingestellt.

" 9. Die Festung wird nach Kriegsgebrauch

und nach erfolgter beiderseitiger Ratification übergeben. Sig. Puszta-Herkály am 27. September 1849.

" Haynau m. p.,
" f. z. m.

" Takáts m. p. Hauptmann.
" Gasparitz, Hauptmann.
" Mednyánszky, Oberstlieut.
" Joh. Pragay, Oberstlieut.
" Stefan Rutkay, Oberstlieut.
" Graf Otto Zichy, Oberst.
" Graf Paul Eszterházy, Oberst.
" Joh. Janik, Oberst.
" Sigmund Szabó, Oberst Platz-Cmdt.
" Josef v. Kászonyi, Oberst.
" Franz Assermann, Oberst Festungs-Cmdt.
" George Klapka, Festungs-und Truppen-Obercommandant.
" Dem Originale gleichlautend.
" Komorn am 29 September 1849.

" Szillányi,
" Oberstlieut. Chef des Generalstabs."

VIII.

THE DECREE OF THE 14TH APRIL, 1849.

1.

SANCTIO PRAGMATICA.

CAROLI VI., IMPERATORIS ET REGIS HUNGARIÆ III. DECRETUM II., ANNI 1723.

ARTICULUS I.

Status et Ordines Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum, Sacræ Cæsareæ, et Regiæ Majestati, pro Libertatum et Prærogativarum Eorundem Paterna et Clementissima Confirmatione; et Suæ in medium Statuum Sacratissimæ Personæ adventu; gratias quam maximas referunt.

PATERNAM sane, et Clementissimam Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ, et Regiæ Majestatis erga Status et Ordines Regni in præsenti Diæta, felicissime, et in frequentissimo, vix aliquando viso numero congregatos propensionem; et ad permansionem Eorundem, ac incrementum publici Status Regni Hungariæ, Partiumque eidem annexarum, proque stabilienda in omnem casum, etiam contra Vim externam, cum vicinis Regnis, et Provinciis Hæreditariis Unione, et conservanda domestica tran-

quillitate directam curam et sollicitudinem, ex benignis Ejusdem Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ et Regiæ Majestatis, ad Status et Ordines Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum Clementissime emanatis Literis Regalibus ac novissime factis Propositionibus; devoto sane homagialis Fidelitatis Eorundem zelo, et constanti fervore humillime intelligentes; pro hoc erga Eosdem Clementissime exhibito Paterni affectus Gratiarum singulari voto, quodve non obstantibus in adversum quibusvis gravissimis, Sacrum Romanum Imperium, et Europæam quietem tangentibus curis et laboribus, in medium fidelium Suorum Statuum semet conferre; et Eosdem in Altissima, iisdem summe Veneranda Persona sua, paterne consolari; et primum ac ante omnia, nullaque prævia fidelium Statuum et Ordinum eatenus præmissa humillima Supplicatione, ex puro erga Eosdem paterno affectu, universos Status et Ordines Regni sui Hæreditarii Hungariæ, Partiumque, Regnorum, et Provinciarum eidem annexarum, *in omnibus tam Diplomaticis, quam aliis quibusvis Juribus, Libertatibus, Privilegiis, Immunitatibus, Consvetudinibus, Prærogativis, et Legibus,* hactenus concessis, et conditis, ac in præsenti Diæta, et in futurum etiam Diætaliter condendis, conservaturam offerre; et eosdem, ac earundem singulas, clementissime confirmare dignata fuisset; humillimas, et quam possunt, maximas Sacratissimæ

Cæsareæ ac Regiæ Majestati ideo etiam gratias referunt;

§ 1. Quod Fœmineum quoque Sexum Augustissimæ Domus Suæ Austriacæ usque ad Ejusdem, et ab Eodem Descendentium defectum, ad Regiam Hungariæ Coronam, Partesque, Regna, et Provincias, ad eandem Sacrum Coronam pertinentes, unanimi Universorum Statuum et Ordinum Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum libero voto proclamatum; et per solennem Eorundem Statuum et Ordinum ad Sacratissimam Cæsaream et Regiam Majestatem, Viennam expeditam Deputationem vocatum;

§ 2. Et ejusmodi oblationem, tam pie, et clementer gratoque animo acceptare; et fidelium Statuum et Ordinum suorum piis, ac salutaribus Votis, non tantum annuere dignata asset;

§ 3. Sed ejusmodi in Sacra Regni Hungariæ Corona, et Partibus, Regnis, et Provinciis eidem annexis Successionem, eodem quo Masculorum Primogenituræ Ordine, secundum normam in reliquis Suæ Majestatis Sacratissimæ Regnis, et Provinciis Hæreditariis, in, et extra Germaniam sitis, jam per Eandem ordinatam, stabilitam, publicatam, et acceptatam, inseparabiliter, habitaque in graduum æqualitate ejusdem Lineæ, Prærogativæ Masculorum ratione, dirigi, servari, et custodiri vellet;

§ 4. Ita, ut illa, vel Masculus Ejusdem Hæres,

qui, vel quæ, præmissorum Augustæ Domus Austriacæ Regnorum et Provinciarum Hæres, juxta memoratam normam Primogenituræ in Augusta Domo Austriaca receptam, existet; eodem Successionis, pro his et futuris quibuscunque casibus, Hæreditario Jure, etiam pro infallibili Rege Hungariæ, Partiumque, Regnorum, et Provinciarum eidem annexarum, æque *indivisibiliter intelligendarum*, habeatur et coronetur.

Articulus II.

De Regia Hæreditaria Sacratissimæ Cesareæ et Regiæ Majestatis Sexus Fæminei Augustæ Domus Austriacæ in Sacra Regni Hungariæ Corona, et Partibus eidem ab antiquo annexis, continua Successione.

Tametsi Suæ Sacratissimæ Cæsaræ et Regiæ Majestatis Fideles Status et Ordines Regni Hungariæ, Partiumque eidem annexarum, vividam et florentem, optimeque constitutam Ætatem, Vires, et Valitudinem conspicientes Divinæque Benedictioni quam optime confisi, Eandem Magnis, et gloriosis Sexus Masculini Successoribus, ad præces quoque fidelium suorum Statuum eo fine ad DEUM Ter Optimum fusas, et incessanter fundendas, largissime benedicendam, et indefinenti Masculorum Hæredum suorum ordine fideles Status Regni consolandos fore, vel maxime confiderent;

§ 1. Quia vero apprime etiam perspectum habe-

rent; Reges pariter, et Principes, æquali aliorum hominum mortalitatis sorti subjectos esse; mature proinde, et consulto perpendentes, tot et tanta, cum Prædecessorum Suæ Sacratissima Cæsareæ et Regiæ Majestatis, Divorum olim Leopoldi Genitoris, et Josephi fratris, Gloriosissimorum Hungariæ Regum; tum vel maxime propria Clementissime Regnantis Suæ Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ et Regiæ Majestatis, pro incremento Boni Patrii publici, prove fidelium Civium suorum perenni salute, Bello æque ac Pace, exantlata Gloriosissima Acta, et Facta; dum non modo Hæreditarium Regnum hoc suum Hungariæ, Partesque, Regna, et Provincias eidem annexas, in statu per præattactos gloriosos Prædecessores suos positum, conservavit; sed occasione etiam novissimi Ottomanici Belli, contra ferventissimos ejusdem impetus, idem animose tutata; victricibus, felicibusque Armis, in annexa eidem Regna, et Provincias, cum immortali sui Nominis Gloria, Statuumque et Ordinum, ac privatorum Regni Civium perenni securitate protenderit: ut successivis quibusvis temporibus, ab omnibus externis, et etiam domesticis confusionibus et periculis proservari; imo in alma, et continua tranquillitate, ac sincere animorum unione, *adversus omnem Vim etiam externam* felicissime perennare possit;

§ 2. Quosvis præterea etiam *internos Motus*, et facile solita, ipsis Statibus et Ordinibus Regni ab

antiquo optime cognita *Interregni mala*, sollicite præcavere cupientes;

§ 3. Majorum suorum laudabilibus Exemplis incitati;

§ 4. Volentesque erga Sacratissimam Cæsaream, et Regiam Majestatem, Dominum Dominum Eorum Clementissimum, gratos, et fideles semet exhibere;

§ 5. In defectu Sexus Masculini Sacratissimæ Cæsareæ et Regiæ Majestatis (quem defectum DEUS clementissime avertere dignetur,) Ius hæreditarium succedendi in Hungariæ Regnum, et Coronam, ad eandemque Partes pertinentes, Provincias, et Regna, jam Divino auxilio recuperata, et recuperanda; etiam in Sexum Augustæ Suæ Domus Austriacæ Fœmineum, primo loco quidem ab altefata modo Regnante Sacratissima Cæsarea et Regia Majestate;

§ 6. Dein in hujus defectu; a Divo olim Josepho;

§ 7. His quoque deficientibus; ex Lumbis Divi olim Leopoldi, Imperatorum, et Regum Hungariæ Descendentes, Eorundemque legitimos Romano-Catholicos Successores utriusque Sexus Austriæ Archiduces, juxta stabilitum per Sacratissimam Cæsaream et Regiam Regnantem Majestatem in aliis quoque suis Regnis et Provinciis Hæreditariis, in et extra Germaniam sitis, Primogenituræ Ordinem, Jure et Ordine præmisso,

indivisibiliter, ac *inseparabiliter*, *invicem*, et *insimil*, ac una cum Regno Hungariæ, et Provinciis, Partibus et Regnis eidem annexis, *hæreditarie possidendis*, regendum et gubernandam transferunt;

§ 8. Et memoratum Successionem acceptant;

§ 9. Taliterque eandem *Successionem Fœmineam*, in Augusto Domo Austriaca introductam, et agnitam (extensis ad eam nunc pro tunc Articulis 2 et 3, 1687, et pariter 2 et 3, Anni 1715) juxta ordinem supradictum *stabiliunt;*

§ 10. Per præattactum Fœmineum Sexum Augustæ Domus ejusdem, prævio modo declaratos Hæredes, et Successores utriusque Sexus Archiduces Austriæ, *acceptandam ratihabendam*, et una cum prœmissis, æque modo prævio per Sacratissimam Cæsaream et Regiam Majestatem clementissime confirmatis *Diplomaticis*, aliisque prædeclaratis Statuum et Ordinum Regni, Partiumque, Regnorum, et Provinciarum eidem annexarum *Libertatibus*, et *Prærogativis*, ad tenorem præcitatorum Articulorum, futuris semper temporibus, occasione Coronationis *observandam determinant;*

§ 11. Et nonnisi post omnimodum prædicti Sexus defectum *avitam et veterem*, *approbatamque*, *et receptam Consuetudinem* Prærogativamque Statuum et Ordinum, *in Electione*, *et Coronatione Regum*, locum habituram: reservant intelligendam.

Articulus III.

Jura, Prærogativæ, et Libertates Statuum et Ordinum Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum confirmantur.

Sacratissima Cæsarea et Regia Majestas, universorum fidelium Statuum et Ordinum Regni, Partiumque eidem annexarum, omnia tam *Diplomatica*, quam alia quævis *Jura, Libertates, et Privilegia, Immunitates, Prærogativas, Legesque conditas, et approbatas Consvetudines* (in conformitate Articulorum 1 et 2 modernæ Dietæ, in sensu Articulorum 1, 2, et 3, Anni 1715. Formulæque Juramenti ibidem contentæ, intelligendorum) clementer *confirmat, et observabit:*

§ 1. Pariterque *Successores*, legitime *coronandi* Hungariæ et Partium eidem annexarum Reges; in iisdem Prærogativis, et præmissis Immunitatibus et Legibus, Status et Ordines Regni Partiumque eidem annexarum *inviolabiliter conservabunt;*

§ 2. Quas et quæ, præterea sua Majestas Sacratissima, per suos *cujuscunque Status* gradus et conditionis subditos, *observari faciet.*

LEOPOLDI II. IMPER. ET REGIS HUNGARIÆ.

Decretum I. Anni 1790—91.

Articulus X.

De Independentia Regni Hungariæ, Partiumque eidem annexarum.

Erga demissam Statuum et Ordinum Regni

Propositionem, Sua quoque Majestas Sacratissima benigne agnoscere dignata est, quod licet Successio Sexus fœminei Augustæ Domus Austriacæ per Articulos 1 et 2, 1723, in Regno Hungariæ, Partibusque eidem adnexis stabilita, eundem, quem in reliquis Regnis et Ditionibus hæreditariis, in et extra Germaniam sitis, juxta stabilitum successionis Ordinem inseparabiliter ac indivisibiliter possidendis, Principem concernat, Hungaria nihilominus cum Partibus adnexis, *sit Regnum liberum*, et relate ad totam legalem Regiminis formam (huc intellectis quibusvis Dicasteriis suis) *independens*, id est nulli alteri Regno aut populo obnoxium, sed *propriam habens Consistentiam, et Constitutionem*, proinde a legitime coronato hæreditario Rege suo; adeoque etiam a Sua Majestate Sacratissima, Successoribusque ejus Hungariæ Regibus, *propriis legibus, et Consuetudinibus, non vero ad normam aliarum Provinciarum*, dictantibus id Articulis 3, 1715, item 8 et 11, 1791, *regendum et gubernandum*.

2.

DECLARATION RELATIVE TO THE SEPARATION OF HUNGARY FROM AUSTRIA.

We, the legally constituted Representatives of the Hungarian nation in Parliament assembled, do by these presents solemnly proclaim, in main-

tenance of the inalienable natural right of Hungary, with all its Dependencies, to the position of an independent European State — that the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, as perjured in the sight of God and man, has forfeited its right to the Hungarian throne. And we feel in duty bound to proclaim the motives and reasons which have impelled us to this Decision, that the world may know: we have taken this step not out of overbearing confidence in our own wisdom, or out of revolutionary excitement, but that it is an act of the last necessity, adopted to preserve from utter destruction a Nation persecuted to the limits of the most enduring patience.

Three hundred years have passed since the Hungarian nation, by free election, placed the House of Austria on its throne, according to stipulations made on both sides, and ratified by treaty. These three hundred years have been a period of uninterrupted suffering for this country.

God has blessed this country with all the elements of wealth and happiness. Its area of 100,000 square miles presents, in varied profusion, innumerable sources of prosperity. Its population, numbering nearly fifteen millions, feels the glow of youthful strength within its veins, and has shown temper and docility which

warrant its proving at once the main organ of civilisation in Eastern Europe, and the guardian of that civilisation when attacked. Never did Providence appoint a more grateful task to a reigning dynasty than that which devolved upon the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine. It would have sufficed to do nothing that could impede the development of the country. Had this been the rule observed, Hungary would now rank amongst the most prosperous nations. It was only necessary that it should not envy the Hungarians the moderate share of constitutional liberty which they maintained during the difficulties of a thousand years with rare fidelity to their sovereigns, and the House of Hapsburg might long have counted this nation amongst the most faithful adherents of the throne.

That dynasty, however, which can at no epoch point to a ruler who based his power on the liberty of the people, adopted a course towards this nation, from father to son, which deserves the appellation of perjury.

The House of Austria has boldly used every effort to deprive this country of its independence and constitution, designing to reduce it to a level with the other provinces which were long since deprived of all freedom, and to unite all in the common bonds of slavery. Foiled in this scheme by the untiring vigilance of this nation,

it directed its endeavors to weaken the power, to check the progress of Hungary, compelling it to minister to the gain of the provinces of Austria, to an extent which enabled those provinces to bear the load of taxation with which the wasteful prodigality of the Imperial house weighed them down; having first deprived those provinces of all constitutional means of remonstrating against a policy which was not based upon the welfare of the subjects, and which solely tended to maintain despotism and crush liberty in every country of Europe.

It has frequently happened that the Hungarian nation, in spite of this systematised tyranny, has been obliged to take up arms in self-defence. Although constantly victorious in these constitutional struggles, yet so moderate has this nation ever been in its use of the victory, so strongly has it confided in the King's plighted word, that it has ever laid down arms as soon as the King, by new compacts and fresh oaths, chose to guarantee the duration of its rights and liberty. But every new compact was as weak as those which preceded it; each oath which fell from the royal lips was but a renewal of former perjuries. The policy of the House of Austria, which aimed at destroying the independence of Hungary as a state, has been pursued, unaltered, for three hundred years.

It was in vain that the Hungarians shed their blood for the deliverance of Austria whenever that country was in danger; vain were all the sacrifices which they made to serve the interests of the reigning house; in vain did they, on the renewal of the royal promises, forget the wounds of the past; vain was the loyalty of the Hungarians for their king, and which, in moments of danger, heightened to devotion;—all was in vain, for the history of the government of that dynasty in Hungary presents an unbroken series of deeds of perjury from generation to generation.

In spite of such treatment, the Hungarian nation has all along respected the union by which it was united to that dynasty; and in now decreeing its Expulsion from the Throne, it acts under the natural law of self-preservation, being driven to pronounce this sentence by the full conviction that the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine is compassing the destruction of Hungary as an independent state; for this dynasty has wantonly torn the bonds by which it was united to the Hungarian nation, and to confess that it had torn them in the face of Europe. These are acts by which a nation is justified, before God and man, in expelling a reigning dynasty. Amongst such are the following:—

When that dynasty forms alliances with the enemies of the country, with robbers, or chiefs of fac-

tions, to oppress the nation; when it attempts to annihilate the independence of the country and its constitution, sanctioned by oaths, attacking with an armed force the people who have committed no act of revolt; when the integrity of a country which the sovereign has sworn to maintain is violated, and its power diminished; when foreign armies are employed to murder the people, and to oppress their liberties.

Every one of the reasons here enumerated would justify the exclusion of a dynasty from the throne. But the House of Lorraine-Hapsburg is unexampled in the compass of its perjuries, and it has committed every one of the said crimes against this nation; and its resolution to annihilate the independence of Hungary has been accompanied with a succession of criminal acts, robbery, arson, murder, maiming, and personal ill-treatment of all kinds, besides setting the laws of the country at defiance, so that humanity shudders at this disgraceful page of history.

The main impulse to the late unjustifiable courses was the passing of the laws adopted in the spring of 1848, for the more efficient protection of the constitution of the country. Those laws provided reforms in the internal government of the country, by which the commutation of *robot* and of the tithe was decreed; a fair representation guaranteed to the people in the Parliament, the

constitution of which was, formerly, exclusively aristocratical; equality before the law proclaimed; the privilege of exemption from taxation abolished; freedom of the press decreed; and, to stem the torrent of abuses, trial by jury established, with sundry other improvements. Notwithstanding that troubles broke out in every province of the Austrian empire, as a consequence of the French Revolution of February, and, notwithstanding the helpless condition of the reigning dynasty, the Hungarian nation was too generous at such a moment to exact more privileges; it contented itself with enforcing the administration of its old rights upon a system of ministerial responsibility, and with maintaining them and the independence of the country against the often renewed and perjured attempts of the crown. The rights, and the independence which they sought to maintain, were, however, no new acquisition; they were what the King, by his oath, and according to law, was bound to adhere to, and which had not in the slightest degree been affected by the relation in which Hungary stood to the provinces of his own empire.

In point of fact, Hungary and Transylvania, with all their possessions and dependencies, never were incorporated into the Austrian empire, but formed a separate independent kingdom, even

after the adoption of the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the same law of succession was adopted for Hungary which obtained in the other countries and provinces.

The clearest proof of this legal fact is furnished by the law incorporated into the act of the Pragmatic Sanction, which stipulates that the territory of Hungary and its dependencies, as well as its independence, self-government, constitution, and privileges, shall remain inviolate and specially guaranteed.

Another proof is contained in a certain article of the Pragmatic Sanction, which provides that the heir of the crown only becomes legally King of Hungary upon the conclusion of a coronation treaty with the nation, and upon his swearing to maintain the constitution and the laws of the country, whereupon he is to be crowned with the crown of St. Stephen. The act signed at the coronation contains the stipulation that all laws, privileges, and the constitution in general, shall be observed, together with the order of succession. Only one sovereign since the adoption of the Pragmatic Sanction, refused to enter into the coronation compact, and swear to the constitution. That sovereign was Joseph II., who died uncrowned, but for that reason his name is not recorded amongst the Kings of Hungary, and all his acts are considered illegal, null, and void.

His successor, Leopold II., was obliged, before ascending the Hungarian throne, to enter into the coronation compact, to take the oath, and to accept the crown. On this occasion it was distinctly declared in Art. 10, 1790, sanctioned upon oath by the King, that Hungary was a free and independent country with regard to its government, and not subordinate to any other state or people whatever, consequently that it was to be governed by its own customs and laws.

The same oath was taken by Francis I., who came to the throne in the year 1792. On the extinction of the Imperial dignity in Germany, and the foundation of the Austrian empire, this Emperor, who violated the law in innumerable instances, had still sufficient respect for his oath, publicly to avow that Hungary formed no portion of the Austrian empire. For this reason Hungary was separated from the rest of the Austrian states by a line of custom-guards along the whole frontier, which still continues.

The same oath was taken on his accession to the throne by Ferdinand V., who, at the Diet held at Pressburg last year, of his own free-will, sanctioned the laws that were passed, but who, soon after, breaking that oath, entered into a conspiracy with divers other members of his family, with the intent of erasing Hungary from the list of independent nations.

Still the Hungarian nation preserved with useless piety its loyalty to its perjured sovereign, and, during March last year, while the empire was on the brink of destruction, while its armies in Italy suffered defeat after defeat, and he in his Imperial palace had to fear at any moment that he might be driven from it—Hungary did not take advantage of so favorable a moment to make increased demands; it only asked that its constitution might be guaranteed, and that abuses might be rectified—a constitution, to maintain which fourteen kings of the Austrian dynasty had sworn a solemn oath, which every one of them had broken.

When the King undertook to guarantee those Ancient Rights, and when he gave his sanction to the establishment of a responsible ministry, the Hungarian nation flew enthusiastically to his support, and rallied its might around his tottering throne. At that eventful crisis, as at so many others, the House of Austria was saved by the fidelity of the Hungarians.

Scarcely, however, had this oath fallen from his lips when he conspired anew with his family, the accomplices of his crime, to compass the destruction of the Hungarian nation. This conspiracy did not take place on the ground that any new privileges were conceded by the recent laws which diminished the royal authority. From what has

been said, it is clear that no such demands were made. The conspiracy was founded to get rid of the responsible ministry, which made it impossible for the Vienna cabinet to treat the Hungarian constitution any longer as a nullity.

In former times, a governing council, under the name of the Royal Hungarian Stadtholdership, (Consilium Locum tenentiale Hungaricum), the president of which was the Palatine, held its seat at Buda, whose sacred duty it was to watch over the integrity of the state, the inviolability of the constitution, and the sanctity of the laws. But as this collegiate authority did not present any element of personal responsibility, the Vienna cabinet gradually degraded this council to the position of an administrative organ of court absolutism. In this manner, while Hungary had ostensibly an independent government, the despotic Vienna Cabinet disposed at will of the money and blood of the people for purposes which were foreign to their interests; subjecting its trading interests to the success of courtly cabals, injurious to the welfare of the people, so that we were excluded from all connexion with the other countries of the world, and were degraded to the position of a colony. The mode of governing by a cabinet was intended to put a stop to these proceedings, which caused the rights of the country to moulder uselessly in

its parchments; by the change, these rights and the royal oath were both to become a reality. It was the fear of this, and especially the fear of losing its control over the money and blood of the country, which caused the House of Austria to involve Hungary, by the foulest intrigues, in the horrors of fire and slaughter, that, having plunged the country in a civil war, it might seize the opportunity to dismember the lands, and blot out the name of Hungary from the list of independent nations, and crush up its plundered and bleeding limbs with the Austrian monarchy.

The beginning of this course was by issuing orders during the existence of the ministry, directing an Austrian general to rise in rebellion against the laws of the country, and by nominating the same general Ban of Croatia, a kingdom belonging to the kingdom of Hungary. Croatia and Sclavonia were chosen as the seat of military operations in this rebellion, because the military organisation of a portion of those countries promised to present the greatest number of disposable troops; it was also thought, that since a portion of those countries had for centuries been excluded from the enjoyment of constitutional rights, and subjected to a military organisation in the name of the Emperor, they would easily be induced to rise at his bidding.

Croatia and Sclavonia were chosen to begin this rebellion, because in those countries the inhuman policy of Prince Metternich had, with a view to the weakening of all parties, for years cherished hatred against the Hungarian nation. By exciting in every possible manner the most unfounded national jealousies, and by employing the most disgraceful means, he had succeeded in rousing party-hatred, although the Hungarians, far from desiring to oppress the Croatians, allowed the most unrestrained development of the provincial institutions of Croatia, and shared with their Croatian and Sclavonian brethren their political rights, even to the length of sacrificing some of their own rights, by acknowledging special privileges and immunities in those dependencies.

The Ban revolted, therefore, in the name of the Emperor, and rebelled openly against the King of Hungary, who is, however, one and the same person; he went to the length of decreeing the separation of Croatia and Sclavonia from Hungary, (with which they had been united for eight hundred years,) as well as to their incorporation with the Austrian empire. Public opinion and incontestable facts cast the blame of these proceedings on the Archduke Louis, uncle to the Emperor, on his brother, the Archduke Francis Charles, and especially on the consort of the last-named prince, the Archduchess Sophia; and

since the Ban, in this act of rebellion, openly alleged that he acted as a faithful subject of the Emperor, the ministry of Hungary requested their sovereign, by a public declaration, to erase the stigma which these proceedings threw upon the Imperial family. At that moment affairs were not prosperous for Austria in Italy; the Emperor, therefore, did proclaim that the Ban and his associates were guilty of high treason, and of exciting to rebellion. But at the time that this same edict was published, the Ban and his accomplices were covered with favors at Court, and supplied for their enterprise with money, arms, and ammunition. The Hungarians, confiding in the royal proclamation, and not wishing to provoke a civil conflict, did not hunt out those proscribed traitors in their lair, and only took measures for checking any extension of the rebellion. But soon afterwards the inhabitants of Southern Hungary, of Servian race, were seduced to rebellion by precisely the same means.

They too were declared by the King to be rebels, but were, nevertheless, like the others, supplied with money, arms, and ammunition. The King's commissioned military officers and civil servants, enlisted bands of robbers in the principality of Servia, to strengthen the rebels, and aid them in massacring the peaceable Hungarian and German inhabitants of the Banat. The com-

mand of these rebellious bodies was moreover intrusted to the rebel leaders of the Croatians.

During this rebellion of the Servians, scenes of cruelty were perpetrated at which the heart shudders. Flourishing towns and villages were laid waste; Hungarians fleeing before these murderers, were reduced to the condition of vagrants and beggars in their own country; the most prosperous districts were converted into a wilderness.

Thus were the Hungarians driven to self-defence, but the Austrian Cabinet had despatched, some time previously, the most efficient part of the national troops to Italy, to oppress the kingdoms of Lombardy and Venice; and although our country was bleeding from a thousand wounds, still we allowed them to hasten to the rescue of Austria. The greater part of the Hungarian regiments were, according to the old system of government, scattered through the other provinces of the empire. In Hungary itself, the troops quartered were mostly Austrian, and they afforded more protection to the rebels than to the laws, or to the peace of the country.

The withdrawal of these troops, and the return of the national militia, was demanded of the Government, but was either refused or its fulfilment delayed; and when our brave comrades, on hearing of the distress of the country, returned in masses, they were persecuted, and such as were obliged to

yield to superior force were disarmed and sentenced to death, for having sought to defend their country against rebels.

The Hungarian ministry begged the King earnestly to issue orders to all troops and commanders of fortresses in Hungary, enjoining fidelity to the constitution, and obedience to the ministers of Hungary. Such a proclamation was sent to the Palatine, the Viceroy of Hungary, Archduke Stephen, at Buda. The necessary letters were written and sent to the Post-office. But this nephew of the King, the Archduke Palatine, shamelessly caused these letters to be smuggled back from the Post-office, although they had been countersigned by the responsible ministers, and they were afterwards found among his papers, when he treacherously fled from the country.

The rebel Ban menaced the Hungarian coast with an attack, and the Government, with the King's consent, ordered an armed corps to march through Styria for the defence of Fiume; but this whole force received orders to march into Italy. Yet such glaring treachery was not disavowed by the Vienna Cabinet.

The rebel force occupied Fiume, and disunited it from the kingdom of Hungary, and this irruption was disavowed by the Vienna Cabinet, as having been caused by a misunderstanding; the

furnishing of arms, ammunition, and money to the rebels of Croatia, was also declared to have been a misunderstanding. Instructions were issued to the effect, that unless special orders were given, the army and the commanders of fortresses were not to follow the orders of the Hungarian ministers, but were to execute the orders of the Austrian Cabinet.

Finally, to reap the fruit of so much perfidy, the Emperor Francis Joseph dared to call himself King of Hungary, in the manifesto of 9th March, wherein he openly declares that he erases the Hungarian nation from the list of the independent nations of Europe, and that he divides its territory into five parts, dividing Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, and Fiume, from Hungary, creating at the same time a principality for the Servian rebels (the Wojewodina); and having paralysed the political existence of the country, declared it incorporate into the Austrian monarchy.

Never was so disgraceful a line of policy followed towards a nation. Hungary, unprepared with money, arms, and troops, and not expecting to be called on to make resistance, was entangled in a net of treachery, and forced to defend itself against this threatened annihilation with the aid of volunteers, national guards, and an undisciplined, unarmed levy *en masse*, aided by the few regular troops which remained in the

country. In open battles the Hungarians have, however, been successful, but they could not rapidly enough put down the Servian rebels, and those of the military frontier, who were led by officers devoted to Austria, and who were enabled to take refuge behind entrenched positions.

It was necessary to provide a new armed force. The King, still pretending to yield to the undeniably lawful demands of the nation, had summoned a new Parliament for the 2nd of July, 1848, and had called upon the representatives of the nation to provide soldiers and money for the suppression of the Servian and Croatian rebellion, and the re-establishment of public peace. He at the same time issued a solemn proclamation in his own name, and in that of his family, condemning and denouncing the Croatian and Servian rebellion. The necessary steps were taken by the Parliament. A levy of 200,000 men, and a subsidy of 40,000,000 of florins were voted, and the bills were laid before the King for the royal sanction. At the same moment the Hungarians gave an unexampled proof of their loyalty, by inviting the King, who had fled to Inspruck, to come to Pesth, and by his presence to tranquillise the people, trusting to the loyalty of the Hungarians, who had shown themselves at all times the best supports of the throne.

This request was proffered in vain, for Radetzky

had in the mean time been victorious in Italy. The house of Hapsburg-Lorraine, restored to confidence by that victory, thought the time had come to take off the mask and to involve Hungary, still bleeding from past wounds, in the horrors of a fresh war of oppression. The King from that moment began to address the man whom he himself had branded as a rebel, as "dear and loyal" (Lieber Getreuer); he praised him for having revolted, and encouraged him to proceed in the path he had entered upon.

He expressed a like sympathy for the Servian rebels, whose hands were still reeking from the massacres they had perpetrated. It was under this command that the Ban of Croatia, after being proclaimed as a rebel, assembled an army, and announced his commission from the King to carry fire and sword into Hungary, upon which the Austrian troops stationed in the country united with him. The commanders of the fortresses, Essek, Temesvár, and Karlsburg, and the commanders of the forces in the Banat and in Transylvania, unmindful of their oaths to the country, treacherously surrendered their trusts; a Slovack clergyman, with the commission of colonel, who had fraternised at Vienna with the revolted Czechs, broke into Hungary, and the rebel Croatian leader advanced with confidence, through an unprepared country, to occupy its capital,

expecting that the army in Hungary would not oppose him.

Even then the Parliament clung to its confidence in the power of the royal oath, and the King was once more requested to order the rebels out of the country. The answer given was a reference to a manifesto of the Austrian ministry, declaring it to be their determination to deprive the Hungarian nation of the independent management of their financial, commercial, and war affairs. The King at the same time refused his assent to the laws submitted for approval respecting the troops and the subsidy for covering the expenditure.

Upon this the Hungarian ministers resigned, but the names submitted by the President of the Council, at the demand of the King, were not approved of for successors.* The Parliament then, in duty bound to protect the interests of the country, voted the supplies, and ordered the troops to be levied. The nation obeyed the summons with readiness.

The representatives of the people then summoned the nephew of the Emperor to join the camp, and as Palatine to lead the troops against the rebels. He not only obeyed the summons,

* The Cabinet which was thus refused, consisted of Baron Vay, Ghierzy, Count Erdödy, Szentkiralyi, Baron Kemeny, Baron Eötvös, and L. Meszáros.

but made public professions of his devotion to the cause. As soon, however, as an engagement threatened, he fled secretly from the camp and the country like a coward traitor. Amongst his papers a plan, formed by him some time previously, was found, according to which Hungary was to be simultaneously attacked on nine sides at once—from Styria, Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Gallicia, and Transylvania.

From a correspondence with the Minister of War, seized at the same time, it was discovered that the commanding generals on the military frontier and in the Austrian provinces adjoining Hungary had received orders to enter Hungary, and to support the rebels with their united forces.

The attack from nine points at once really began. The most painful aggression took place in Transylvania, for the traitorous commander in that district did not content himself with the practices considered lawful in war by disciplined troops. He stirred up the Wallachian peasants to take arms against their own constitutional rights, and, aided by the rebellious Servian hordes, commenced a course of Vandalism and extinction, sparing neither women, children, nor aged men; murdering and torturing the defenceless Hungarian inhabitants; burning the most flourishing villages and towns, amongst which, Nagy-Enyed,

the seat of learning for Transylvania, was reduced to a heap of ruins.

But the Hungarian nation, although taken by surprise, unarmed and unprepared, did not abandon its future prospects in any agony of despair.

Measures were immediately taken to increase the small standing army by volunteers and the levy of the people. These troops, supplying the want of experience by the enthusiasm arising from the feeling that they had right on their side, defeated the Croatian armies, and drove them out of the country.

The defeated army fled towards Vienna.

One of their leaders* appealed, after an unsuccessful fight, to the generosity of the Hungarians for a truce, which he used to escape by night and surreptitiously with his defeated troops; the other corps, of more than 10,000 men, was surrounded and taken prisoners, from the general to the last private. †

The defeated army fled in the direction of Vienna, where the Emperor continued his demoralising policy, and nominated the routed and flying rebel his plenipotentiary and substitute in Hungary, suspending by this act the constitution and institutions of the country, all its authorities, courts of justice and tribunals, placing the king-

* *Viz.* Baron Jellachich, the Ban of Croatia.

† *Viz.* The Generals Roth and Fillipovich.

dom under martial law, and giving into the hands and under the unlimited authority of a rebel, the honor, the property, and the lives of the people—yea, arming the hands of a man who had braved the laws, and attacked the constitution of this country!

But the house of Austria was not contented with this unjustifiable violation of the Emperor's solemn oath.

The rebellious Ban was placed under the protection of the troops stationed near Vienna, and commanded by Prince Windischgrätz. These troops, after taking Vienna by storm, were led as an Imperial Austrian army to conquer Hungary. But the Hungarian nation, persisting in its loyalty, sent an envoy to the advancing enemy. This envoy, though under the protection of a parley, was treated as a prisoner and thrown into prison. No notice was taken of the remonstrances and the demands of the Hungarian nation for justice. The threat of the gallows was thundered against all who had taken arms in defence of their wretched and oppressed country. But before the army had time to enter Hungary, a family revolution in the tyrannical reigning House was perpetrated at Olmütz. Ferdinand V. was forced to resign a throne which had been polluted with so much blood and perjury, and the son of Francis Charles, who also abdicated his claim to the inhe-

ritance, the youthful Archduke Francis Joseph, caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. But no one but the Hungarian nation can, by compacts, dispose of the constitutional throne of Hungary.

At this critical moment the Hungarian nation demanded nothing more than the maintenance of its laws and institutions, and peace guaranteed by their integrity. Had the assent of the nation to this change in the occupant of the throne been asked in a legal manner, *and had the young prince, before his hands were gory with the blood of his people, offered to take the customary oath that he would preserve the constitution, the Hungarian nation would not have refused to elect him King, in accordance with the treaties extant, and to crown him with St. Stephen's crown.*

He, however, refusing to perform an act so sacred in the eyes of God and man, and in strange contrast to the innocence natural to youthful breasts, declared in his first words his intention of conquering Hungary, which he dared to call a *rebellious* country, although he himself had fomented a rebellion there, and depriving it of that independence which it had maintained for a thousand years, to incorporate it with the Austrian monarchy.

And he has but too well labored to keep his word. He ordered the army under Windischgrätz

to enter Hungary, and, at the same time, directed several corps of troops to attack this country from Gallicia and Styria. Hungary resisted the projected invasion, but being unable to make head against so many armies at once, on account of the devastation carried on in several parts of the interior by the excited rebels, and being thus prevented from displaying its whole power of defence, the troops were at first obliged to retire. To save the capital from the horrors of a storm like that to which Prague and Vienna had mercilessly been exposed, and not to stake the fortunes of a nation—which deserved a better fate—on the chances of a pitched battle, for which there had not been sufficient preparation, the capital was abandoned, and the Parliament and national Government removed, in January last, to Debrezin, trusting to the help of a just God, and to the energies of the nation, to prevent the cause from being lost, even when it should be seen that the capital was given up. Thanks be to Heaven, the cause was not lost!

But even then an attempt was made to bring about a peaceful arrangement, and a deputation was sent to the generals of the perjured dynasty. That dynasty, in its blind self-confidence, refused to enter into any negotiation, and dared to demand an unconditional submission from the nation. The deputation was detained, and one

of the number, the former president of the ministry,* was thrown into prison. The deserted capital was occupied, and turned into a place of execution; a part of the prisoners of war were there consigned to the scaffold, another part were thrown into dungeons, while the remainder were forced to enter the ranks of the army in Italy.

The measure of the crimes of the Austrian House was, however, filled up, when—after its defeat—it applied for help to the Emperor of Russia; and, in spite of the remonstrances and protestations of the Porte, and of the consuls of the European powers at Bucharest, in defiance of international rights, and with signal danger to the balance of power in Europe, caused the Russian troops stationed in Wallachia to be led into Transylvania, for the destruction of the Hungarian nation.

Three months ago we were driven back upon the Theiss; our arms have already recovered all Transylvania; Clausenburg, Hermanstadt, and Cronstadt are taken; one portion of the troops of Austria is driven into the Bukovina; another, together with the Russian force sent to aid them, is totally defeated, and to the last man obliged to evacuate Transylvania, and to fly into Wallachia. Upper Hungary is cleared of foes.

* The Count Louis Batthyányi.

The Servian rebellion is suppressed; the forts of St. Tama's and the Roman entrenchment have been taken by storm, and the whole country between the Danube and the Theiss, including the county of Bács, has been recovered for the nation.

The General of the perjured House of Austria has been defeated in five battles, and with his whole army he has been driven back upon and even across the Danube.

Framing our conduct according to these events, and confiding in the justice of Eternal God, we, before the world, and relying on the natural rights of the Hungarian nation, and on the power it has developed to maintain them, further impelled by that sense of duty which urges every nation to defend its existence, do hereby declare and proclaim in the name of the nation legally represented by us, the following:—

1st. Hungary, with Transylvania, as legally united with it, and its dependencies, are by and in virtue of the presents declared to constitute a free independent sovereign state. The territorial unity of this state is declared to be inviolable, and its territory to be indivisible.

2nd. The House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, having, by its treachery, perjury, and levying of war against the Hungarian nation, as well as by its

violation of all compacts, in attacking the integral territory of the kingdom, in the separation of Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, Fiume, and sundry other districts, from Hungary—further, by compassing the destruction of the independence of the country by arms, and by calling in the army of a foreign power, for the purpose of annihilating its nationality, thereby violating both the Pragmatic Sanction and certain other treaties concluded between Austria and Hungary, on which the alliance between the two countries depended—is, as treacherous and perjured, for ever excluded from the throne of the united states of Hungary and Transylvania, and all their possessions and dependencies, and is hereby deprived of the Style and Title, as well as of the armorial bearings belonging to the crown of Hungary, and declared to be banished for ever from the united countries and their dependencies and possessions. The said House of Hapsburg-Lorraine is therefore declared to be deposed, degraded, and banished for ever from the Hungarian territory.

3rd. Whereas the Hungarian nation, in the exercise of its rights and sovereign will, is determined to take the position of a free and independent State amongst the nations of Europe, the said nation intends to establish and maintain friendly and neighbourly relations with those states with which it was formerly united under

the same sovereign, as well as to contract alliances with other nations.

4th. The form of government to be adopted for the future will be determined by the Parliament of the Nation.

But until this point shall be decided, on the basis of the ancient and acknowledged principles which have been recognised for ages, the government of the united countries, their possessions and dependencies, shall be conducted on personal responsibility, and under the obligation to render an account of all acts, by Louis Kossuth, who has, by acclamation, and with the unanimous approbation of the Parliament of the nation, been named Governing President (*Gubernator*), and who, as such, shall act with the ministers whom he shall appoint.

And this resolution of ours we proclaim and publish to all the nations of the world, with the conviction that the Hungarian people will be received by them amongst the free and independent nations of the world, with the same friendship and free acknowledgment of its rights which the Hungarians proffer to other countries.

We also hereby proclaim and publish to all the inhabitants of the United States of Hungary and Transylvania, and their dependencies, that all authorities, communities, cities, and the civil officers both in the counties and cities, are com-

pletely set free and released from all the obligations under which they stood, by oath or otherwise, to the said House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, and that any one who dares to act in opposition to this decree, and by word or deed in any way to aid or abet any one in violating it, shall be treated and punished as guilty of High Treason. And by the publication of this decree, we hereby bind and oblige all the inhabitants of these countries to obedience to the Government which by these presents is formally instituted and endowed with all the necessary legal powers.

Debrezin, April 14, 1849.

IX.

THE MURDER OF COUNT BATTHYANYI.

THE preceding documents have served to show with whom the guilt of the Hungarian War lies, and how utterly groundless were the charges, on the strength of which the Austrian Government presumed to take the life of so eminent and innocent a man as the Count Batthyányi undoubtedly was. We need not, therefore, enlarge on so painful a theme, or proceed in the mazes of a controversy in which Austria has all the disgrace, and Hungary all the sorrow. But of the unanimous cry of horror and detestation which rang through the public press of all countries and parties, we reprint an article from the leading journal of Europe, whose mighty powers have almost uniformly been turned rather against the cause of Hungary than in our favor. We reprint this article, not only because its indignant tone is a consolation to the friends of the Martyr, but also because the just indignation of outraged

humanity has, in the following lines, found the most forcible, majestic, and irrefutable expression:—

"The execution of Count Louis Batthyányi, by sentence of Marshal Haynau's Court-Martial at Pesth, cannot fail to produce a most painful impression wherever the affecting details of his last moments are known; and it is to be feared that this act of extreme severity has been accompanied by a still more sanguinary and indiscriminating punishment of the Hungarian Chiefs at Arad. Such acts can be endurable only to those who have sought to identify the name of Austria with the most cruel and revolting forms of despotism, and they are singularly discouraging to those friends of the Imperial Government who had hoped that the forbearance and clemency so lately shown at Venice and Komorn, were to be the basis of the restoration of the Emperor's authority in Hungary. This feeling has already been powerfully expressed in Vienna, even by the leading ministerial journal of that place. The Austrian Cabinet may not be personally responsible for these executions which have taken place under the full powers confided to Haynau, but as they invested him with those powers, they were bound to provide for the use he might make of them in capital cases, and not to allow their

policy towards Hungary to be sullied by the atrocity of a Bloody Assize, or a Butcher Cumberland. The intelligence and the humanity of our age are alike opposed to the policy which followed the battles of Sedgemoor and of Culloden, and the infliction of the extreme penalties of the law for political offences, requires the sanction, not of mere military authority, or even of the forms of justice—but of *Public Opinion*.

Louis Batthyányi has been the Ney of Hungary, and his death, which only avoided the last ignominy of the gibbet by his own desperate attempt at self-destruction, throws a darker shade over the last page of his country's history than all the calamities of the war. He may have incurred the last penalty of the law, he may even have deserved to suffer, especially if his misguided efforts for the independence of his country were aggravated by deliberate treason to the Sovereign whom he served, and by any guilty participation in the horrors committed in Vienna on that day whose bloody anniversary was solemnised by his own doom; but it was the duty, and it was the interest of the Austrian Government, to proceed against him with all the formalities of the law and all the guarantees of a public trial. To put men to death because they have withstood a government and fallen into the hands of its Janissaries, is Turkish and inhuman.

In such a case as this, the mortal enemies of the victim, still reeking from the battle-field, become the judges and executioners of their prisoner. But if such fearful penalties are to be inflicted (and we are not prepared to say they are never to be inflicted for the highest offences of treason and rebellion), they must be awarded, not by political rancour, not by martial authority, but by the solemn judgment of the law, restrained by its own sacred vocation, guided by the rules of evidence, and sanctioned by proof.

If the Imperial Government had in its possession the means of supporting such capital charges, it might have proceeded, in the face of the Empire and of Europe, to convict and condemn the author of the Hungarian rebellion, and the instigator of the insurrection at Vienna—if such he was; for such a sentence would at least have been dignified by the stern but open front of justice. Even Ney was condemned by the Chamber of Peers. But to hand over such an offender from the drum-head to the provost-marshal, is an act more worthy of the assassins of the Duc d'Enghien in the *fosse* of Vincennes, than of the ministers and officers of the Imperial Crown in the hour of victory and in the light of freedom. Louis Batthyányi was not taken with arms in his hands; he had no part in the latest and most violent acts of the insurrectionary government: on the contrary,

it was in December of last year that he presented himself voluntarily in the Camp of Prince Windischgrätz at Buda, to make the last effort at reconciliation. Strictly speaking, he was at such a moment under the protection of a parley; yet he was arrested, or rather kidnapped, detained in close confinement in Austria or Moravia, and only taken back to Pesth to be hung or shot. Such an act of perfidy and deliberate revenge, converts an act of painful harshness into one of atrocity, and it throws a portion of responsibility on the whole Government of Austria.

Whatever may have been the faults of Louis Batthyányi, they were not those of a low demagogue, or a popular revolutionist. Although he had assumed the leadership of the opposition in the Diet, no man in that assembly of magnates was more jealous of the dignity of his order, or a more chivalrous champion of aristocratic power. In asserting the pretensions of his rank and of his race, he was not only ambitious but arrogant; yet, by a curious turn of retribution, it was his patronage which first placed Kossuth in the legislature, and prepared the future greatness of this man, whose subtle and unscrupulous character destroyed the administration of his benefactor, led the revolution to its last excesses, and consummated the crimes for which other and better men have laid down their lives. Whatever, there-

fore, the precise charges may be, for which Batthyányi has suffered, they must fall within the first period of the revolution, between March and October, 1848. He was during that time prime minister of the kingdom of Hungary; duly constituted by the sovereign, and supported by the Diet. His acts were approved and ratified by that sovereign. His colleagues in office were some of them men of undoubted loyalty, such as Prince Esterhazy himself. There was not one of them who would not at that time have recoiled with horror from such acts as the murder of Lamberg or the deposition of the house of Hapsburg. Doubtless, many of the rash and violent measures of that ministry did lead to the revolution, and the recall of the troops from Italy was little short of treasonable; but unless the prime minister of that day can be implicated in other and more violent acts of rebellion, and particularly in the catastrophe of October, in Vienna, we are at a loss to perceive on what grounds he can have been put to death. The insurrection originated under his administration, but he certainly labored to effect a reconciliation, which would have been most desirable for all parties; and on the failure of his last attempt, which had been made in too imperious a tone, he relinquished power and took his place, for a few weeks, in the ranks of the army, until a parley occurred, which led to his

capture. It cannot, therefore, be for his acts as a rebel, but for his acts as a minister, that he has been pronounced guilty. Yet the bulletin of a court-martial is the sole evidence submitted to the world to explain his fate; and we are at a loss to recall a single instance in the worst of times, in which Governments, the most bloody and the most absolute, dared to perform such an act of horror on such a man, unless it be the murder of Count Egmont by the Duke of Alva.

Aggravated as this most impolitic and brutal measure manifestly is by these considerations, we do not presume to pass censure upon it, simply because capital punishment has been inflicted for a political offence. The existing law and the present practice of our country, most undoubtedly punish treason and rebellion with death, as the highest crime, since no other inflicts so large an amount of misery, bloodshed, and ruin on a nation. Nor do we believe that humanity gains anything by dealing lightly with such offences, as in a neighbouring country, where the frequency of revolutions has rendered it convenient to extend indulgence to the authors of these disturbances at the expense of their victims. If the insurrection of last summer in Ireland had ended, not in the cabbage-garden of Ballingarry, but in the loss of some hundreds of innocent lives,—if the fate of Frost and his associates had not been

arrested by judicial doubts,—we are by no means assured that the supreme penalty of the law might not have been inflicted on the guilty parties with the assent of public opinion. More recently we have seen insurrections in Ceylon and Cephalonia repressed and punished with a degree of severity which the law and the administration of this country do not disavow, however deeply we may regret the necessity of such measures on any subject of the crown, be they British, Kandians, or Corcyræans. But if the law of England be severe to such offences, it is public and it is just. It surrounds the man accused of treason with every precaution for the protection of innocence; and, above all, it abhors covert proceedings, loose charges, and ministers of justice, liable to be swayed by rancor or resentment. In the melancholy case which has called forth our present remarks, all these defects of justice occur, superadded to treachery towards this unfortunate nobleman, and excessive impolicy towards the Hungarian people. This blood will be a curse on those who shed it; and men who sully their victory by such crimes, have conquered in vain."

The Times, October 17th, 1849.

X.

THE "NEUGEBÆUDE."

"THE *Neugebäude* is the Bastile of our days. Though its fame is but of recent date, it is, as a central depôt, much more famous than Arad, and its '*Place de Grêve*,' on the '*Holzstätte*,' has robed it with a terror which will hand its name to the furthest generations.

"This building is one of the largest military fabrics in the Austrian Monarchy; it stands in an open square, where sentinels can, with the greatest ease, watch every part of it; it is massively built, high storied, and divided into separate quadrangles. The windows are almost wholly walled up, so as to prevent all communication with the world, and no view is left, except the view of the passing clouds, as if to inform the wretched prisoners that their business lies with heaven, and not with the children of this world. Their earthly affairs are administered to by the Court-Martial.

"It is well known on how gigantic a scale arrests have of late taken place in Hungary, as a natural consequence of General Haynau's Draconic Proclamation of the 2nd of July, which contained so many points, and those too of the vaguest and most mysterious nature, that at least one-third of the male population of Hungary might have been imprisoned on the strength of this very Proclamation. Add to this the scandalous train of informers, large numbers of whom were found in Buda and Pesth, and it is but natural that the 'Neugebäude' was soon filled with political prisoners.

"The progress and practice of judicial inquiries in the 'Neugebäude,' though very ceremonious, is apt to be somewhat disorderly, as is proved by the tragic fate of Mr. Csernyus (late Hofkammerath), who, they say, was hanged by mistake, which, however, did not seem to affect him, for he mounted the scaffold with a smile, while he said, 'Adieu, thou beautiful world!'

"Every prisoner is first examined by the 'Army Police,' whose quarters are exactly opposite to the 'Neugebäude.' In this office he is examined by a Commissioner of the Police.

"This autobiography (the technical term is the '*Constitut*') dates usually from the 3rd of October, 1848, the day on which King Ferdinand published his notorious Manifesto, dissolv-

ing the Parliament, appointing Jellachich to the chief command of Hungary, and subjecting the kingdom to martial law. The prisoner is never asked as to his sayings and doings previous to this eventful period, though secret memoranda are collected respecting all his antecedents. The treatment, at this stage of the proceedings, is polite in the extreme, and, for that very reason, it is most dangerous, for this unexpected politeness serves to lull all suspicion on the part of the prisoner, and to elicit confessions, which at a later period form the basis of a capital sentence. Mr. Stipanek is the ablest of these Commissioners. He is well mannered, cunning, and clever, and he addresses every one of his victims with a determination to snare him for good.

"The 'Constitut' of the Police is sent in to the Court-martial, and this tribunal proceeds with and terminates the inquiry.

"The 'Auditor' plays of course a prominent and decisive part in these proceedings. He confronts the prisoners once, and, in capital cases, perhaps two or three times. It is he who establishes, or adds to the facts which are mentioned in the 'Constitut' of the police. The Court-martial itself enters in the last stage to pronounce the sentence. There is something awful in the variety of sentences which various Court-martials pronounced against one and the same political

crime. At the commencement of these proceedings, the Courts-Martial at Pressburg and Herrmannstadt pronounced sentences of confinement for two or three years for actions which in Pesth or Arad brought the victims to the gallows. At a later period, the practice became more equal throughout, and even in milder courts, such as in Güns, there were *seven executions* in one day. The practice of the Court-Martial at Pesth became the common standard for all Courts in Hungary." —*Notes of a Prisoner in the Neugebäude.*

XI.

FLOGGING OF WOMEN.

MADAME MADERSBACH'S letter, of which the following is an extract, was at the time published by all the journals of Europe. Her case stands most prominently forward, not because it is isolated, but because it has become still more disgusting by its disastrous consequences. We ought to add that it is not *only* in Hungary that Prince Schwarzenberg's agents have punished the real or fancied political vagaries of women by the most brutal means of repression :—

"My heart has been turned to stone ;—I can, therefore, with some degree of composure, relate the misfortunes of my house. An army of Hungarians of 10,000 men surrendered in our immediate neighbourhood. Two days afterwards some Imperialist troops entered Ruskby. It is probable that my enviable family happiness had created enemies at Ruskby, and that they were

resolved to destroy it, for I am not aware that any of us committed any fault. I was suddenly, without a previous trial or examination, taken from my husband and children. I was dragged into a square formed by the troops, and in the place in which I reside, and in the presence of its population, which had been accustomed to honor me, not because I was the Lady of the Manor, but because the whole tenor of my life deserved it, *I was flogged with rods.* You see I can write the words without dying of shame; but my husband took his own life. Deprived of all other weapons, he shot himself with a small cannon. A general cry of horror was raised. I myself was taken to Karansebes."

XII.

PRINCE WITTGENSTEIN'S DESPATCH.

EXPOSÉ OF THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN IN HUNGARY.

(FROM A CIRCULAR DESPATCH OF PRINCE WITTGENSTEIN, D. D., FRANKFORT, 21ST JULY, 1849.)

BARON BUDBERG saw the Prince Paskiewitch at Warsaw. The principal reason for the delay in the opening of the campaign may be found in the circumstance that the Russian Field-Marshal, according to the method he acquired in Asia and Poland, refused to move his troops before he had provided a comfortable and sufficient victualling establishment for his army.

The Field-Marshal calculates that the resistance of the Hungarians will be broken within two months after his march across the Gallician frontier from Dukla; that is to say, that within six weeks from the present day, nothing will remain to be done but to pacify the country.

The Russian Ambassador at Berlin has stated that from 40,000 to 50,000 men of the auxiliary army are to remain in Hungary, while the measures of pacification would of course be left to the Austrian troops.

Baron Geringer, who has been attached to General Haynau, as Civil Commissioner for Hungary, is a cautious and distinguished man.

It appears that in Berlin the Russians are suspected of an intention to relieve the Austrian empire by a partial occupation of Hungary and Transylvania, and to enable Austria to spare some troops for the protection of her interests in Germany. It is to be regretted that this language reminds us of the worst days of German dissensions.

The following are some authentic statements on the statistics of the contending armies:—

The Magyar and Polish insurgents amount to 140,000 men. Of these there are in opposition to the Imperial army round and in Komorn and the mining districts, 80,000 men, under the rebel chief, Görgey; the remainder is in four or five small corps, under various Hungarian and Polish generals, opposed to armies of the Field-Marshal Paskiewitch and the Ban of Croatia.

The Austro-Russian army amounts to double the numbers of the insurgents; that is to say, to 200,000 men, of which 80,000, under General

Haynau, are in the environs of Komorn; while 100,000 men, under the immediate command of Prince Paskiewitch, are on the road from Krakaw to Pesth.

The reason why the Russian army had not taken Pesth on the 2nd and 3rd instant, and why that city was probably taken on the 6th or 7th, lies not in the resistance of the enemy, for it appears, from reports of the Field-Marshal's advanced guard, that the corps of Dembinski which opposed them, and which numbered 20,000 men, has by desertion and disorganization dwindled away to half that number.

The Field-Marshal, adhering to his system, has stopped for three or four days at Miskolz, to allow his commissariat to come up. During this halt, he has detached a corps of twenty-five battalions and thirty squadrons to Debrezin, for the purpose of making a certain moral impression by the occupation of the late focus of the rebellion.

The dissensions between Görgey and the ultra-Magyar party, on the one hand, and Kossuth and the Poles, on the other, have now become pretty patent.

It is but fair to presume that Görgey, with the bulk of the Hungarian army, remained in and round Komorn, for the special purpose of not being compelled to co-operate with Kossuth and the Poles, and *for the purpose of treating with the*

Imperialist generals, as soon as his retreat shall be cut off by the occupation of Pesth and the country on the banks of the Theiss.

At Vienna, they have reason to believe *that Görgey will treat and surrender within the next fortnight,* and the sudden rise in the Austrian funds shows the firm confidence of the public.

Nevertheless, from a military point of view, the position of the Hungarians is undoubtedly strong, confined as they are in an entrenched camp leaning on the fortress of Komorn, and with two *têtes-de-pont* on the Danube and the Waag; and an army of 80,000 men in such a position is always formidable if properly victualled. But it is asserted that a typhus fever is raging in Komorn, * * * * *

* * * * * *

[The end of this sentence is unfit for publication.]

XIII.

THE HUNGARIAN COMMONWEALTH.*

THE translator is requested by General Klapka to state, that the term "*Commonwealth*," as used in various parts of this work, is not intended to convey the idea of a Republic; but that it was taken as the most fitting English name for a political society which, for the time, is deprived of its monarch. The period from the 14th of April, 1849, to the surrender at Világos, was an "*Interregnum*."

* See vols. I. and II. of the Memoirs, *passim*.

XIV.

ABOLITION OF FEUDAL BURDENS IN HUNGARY.

It is but justice to General Klapka, to state, that the assertion respecting the abolition of urbarial burdens, which has lately been contradicted by a leading journal, is owing to the translator's mistaking the words, "in the Parliament of 1847-8," for "in the Parliament of 1847." The said Parliament commenced in 1847, and ended in 1848. The fact is, that in the Parliament of 1847-8, the abolition of urbarial burdens was proposed on the 3rd of December, 1847. The motion was accepted by the Lower House, but the Magnates, to whom it was submitted on the 4th of February, 1848, threw it out. The same motion was again brought forward on the 18th of March, and passed in the two Houses on the 24th of that month. It was confirmed by the King on the 11th April, 1848. According to an old-established custom, the King sanctioned *all* the decrees of the session after its final conclusion.

Reed and Pardon, Printers, Paternoster Row, London.

BOOKS PUBLISHED

BY

CHARLES GILPIN,

5, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHOUT,

LONDON.

Agent for Scotland:

ADAM & CHARLES BLACK, Edinburgh.

Agent for Ireland:

J. B. GILPIN, Dublin.

REED and PARDON, Printers, Paternoster Row.

The Age and its Architects; Ten Chapters on the People and the Times. By EDWIN PAXTON HOOD. Fcap. 8vo., price 5s.

The figures of the Statiſt will generally, in the courſe of the work, be conveyed by Portraits and deſcriptions of the people with whom we live, and the places in which we live. It will be a lucid analyſis of the age and its virtues, vices, and views. Hiſtorical, Æſthetic, and Didactic Delineations of the Development of Individual, Domeſtic, and Social Regeneration. Written eſpecially for the youthful aſpirant to a life of intelligent labour and uſefulneſs. The nature of the work may be gathered from the liſt of the topics of the various chapters.

CHAPTER I.—THE BATTLES AND CONQUESTS OF INDUSTRY.
" II.—THE VICTORIAN COMMONWEALTH.
" III.—THE PHYSIQUE OF A GREAT CITY.
" IV.—THE ARCADIAS OF ENGLAND.
" V.—THE WRONGS OF THE PEOPLE.
" VI.—THE SINS OF THE PEOPLE.
" VII.—THE MISSION OF THE SCHOOLMASTER.
" VIII.—WOMAN THE REFORMER.
" IX.—WESTWARD HO!
" X.—MODERN UTOPIAS.

The Paſtor's Wife. A Memoir of Mrs. Sherman, of Surrey Chapel. By her HUSBAND. With a Portrait, Eighth Thouſand, foolſcap 8vo., price 5s.

"This conſtitutes one of the moſt tender, beautiful, inſtructive, and edifying narratives that for a long time has come under our notice. * * * We anticipate for it a very extended popularity and uſefulneſs among the mothers and daughters of England."—*Chriſtian Witneſs*, January, 1849.

"This volume deſerves a large circulation, and we feel it a pleaſure to commend its peruſal to the various claſſes of our readers, eſpecially to thoſe whoſe ſex may enable them to tread in Mrs. Sherman's ſteps."—*Nonconformiſt*, January 24, 1849.

GENERAL KLAPKA'S NEW WORK ON THE HUNGARIAN WAR.

Memoirs of the War of Independence in Hungary.

By General Klapka, late Secretary at War to the Hungarian Commonwealth; and Commandant of the Fortress of Komorn. 2 vols., post 8vo., price 21s.

This work will be found one of deep interest to all, as containing an authentic historical record of the Hungarian War from the pen of a General Officer engaged in it; and especially to those who have sympathized with the struggles and sacrifices of the Hungarian Nation in defence of its rights and its liberties. The author, officially connected with the Council of War, enjoying the confidence and friendship of the illustrious Kossuth, and faithful to the last to the interests of his suffering country, is well qualified to give such information as will place in a clear light the true character of that struggle which has recently desolated one of the fairest countries of Europe, and sacrificed in the field or by the executioner many of the noblest of her sons. General Klapka, having been personally acquainted with the principal Officers who were shot or hanged at Arad, Pesth, &c., by command of the Austrians, proposes to give in the course of the work short biographical sketches with a narrative of the circumstances attending the deaths of those Officers. The publication of this work is undertaken with the desire to assist some of the Hungarian Refugees now in this country.

The Water Cure. Letters from Grafenberg in

the years 1843-4-5, and 6. By John Gibbs. 12mo., cloth, price 4s. 6d.

"The inquirers after health, the philanthropist, and the medical practitioner will do well to read Mr. Gibbs' book, for which we thank him, and which we beg very sincerely to recommend to careful perusal."—*Nonconformist*, September 18, 1849.

"We strongly recommend its perusal."—*Limerick Chronicle.*

8vo., cloth, price 12s.

SAND AND CANVASS:

A Narrative of Adventures in Egypt, with a ſojourn among the Artiſts in Rome, &c. With illuſtrations.

By SAMUEL BEVAN.

"The random high ſpirits of this book give *ſalt* to the ſand, and *colour* to the canvaſs."—*Athenæum.*

"The truth is never diſguiſed, but things are mentioned with an air of ſincerity that is irreſiſtible. We never recollect to have opened a book which poſſeſſed this charm in anything approaching to the ſame degree. It captivates and excites, giving reality and intereſt to every incident that is introduced."—*Morning Poſt.*

8vo., price 7s.

THE DEMERARA MARTYR.

MEMOIRS OF THE REV. JOHN SMITH,

Miſſionary to Demerara.

By EDWIN ANGEL WALLBRIDGE. With a Preface by the REV. W. G. BARRETT.

"There will one day be a reſurrection of names and reputations, as certainly as of bodies."—*John Milton.*

"The book is a worthy monument to the diſtinguiſhed Martyr whoſe hiſtory forms its leading ſubject. * * * A valuable contribution to the cauſe of freedom, humanity, and juſtice in Demerara."—*Patriot.*

"We have peruſed this work with mixed feelings of pain and admiration; pain, ariſing from the ſenſe of wrong and miſery inflicted on a good man; admiration, that the author has ſo fully redeemed his friend and brother miniſter from calumnies and miſrepreſentations of Satanic malice and wickedneſs."—*Standard of Freedom,* Auguſt 30, 1848.

8vo., cloth, price 6s. 6d.

A POPULAR LIFE OF GEORGE FOX,

The Firſt of the Quakers.

By JOSIAH MARSH.

Compiled from his Journal and other authentic ſources, and interſperſed with remarks on the imperfect reformation of the Anglican Church, and the conſequent ſpread of diſſent.

The work abounds with remarkable incidents, which pourtray a vivid picture of the excited feelings that predominated during thoſe eventful periods of our hiſtory—the Commonwealth and the Reſtoration.

12mo., cloth, price 3s. 6d.

THE ISLAND OF CUBA:

Its Reſources, Progreſs, and Proſpects, conſidered eſpecially in relation to the influence of its proſperity on the intereſts of the Britiſh Weſt India Colonies.

By R. R. MADDEN, M.R.I.A.

"This little volume contains a large amount of valuable information, intimately connected with the progreſs of ſociety and happineſs of man."—*Chriſtian Times.*

"We recommend the book to the peruſal of all who are intereſted in the great work of negro emancipation."—*Standard of Freedom.*

"As ſupplying the lateſt information concerning Cuba, Mr. Madden's book is extremely valuable."—*Economiſt.*

"We cordially recommend the volume."—*Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

Fcap. 8vo., cloth, gilt edges, price 3s. 6d.

CAPTAIN SWORD AND CAPTAIN PEN.

A Poem. By LEIGH HUNT.

The third Edition, with a new Preface, remarks on War, and Notes detailing the horrors on which the Poem is founded.

> "Probably in no work of one hundred pages was there ever amaſſed ſo much of horror. * * * We admire its brilliancy, and are amazed at its force."—*Morning Chronicle.*
>
> "Mr. Leigh Hunt's Poem and Notes, together with the excellent Prefaces, are eminently calculated to diffuſe a more rational and Chriſtian ſpirit among all claſſes of readers. We recommend them to every father of a family and guardian of youth."—*Morning Advertiſer.*

18mo., cloth, price 2s.

WHITTIER'S POEMS

The Poetical Works of JOHN G. WHITTIER. Reprinted from the Boſton 8vo. edition, containing Appendix and copious Notes.

12mo., cloth, price 4s.

THE PEASANTRY OF ENGLAND.

An Appeal on behalf of the Working Claſſes; in which the cauſes which have led to their preſent impoveriſhed and degraded condition, and the means by which it may beſt be permanently improved, are clearly pointed out.

By G. M. PERRY.

Post 8vo., price 7s.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A WORKING MAN.

By "ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH."

This work contains the "Barrack Life of a Dragoon;" what the author did to save Britain from a Revolution; his Court Martial and Punishment at Birmingham; the conspiracy of the Secret Committee of the Trade Unions in London to "Assassinate the Cabinet Ministers, and Capture the Palace, Royal Family, and Bank of England;" how planned and how prevented.

"Here is a genuine, fresh, and thoroughly true book; something really worth reading and remembering."—*Manchester Examiner.*

"The well known author of this work, who has attracted much public attention, and has acquired a well merited reputation, has done the public a great service by publishing his autobiography."—*Economist.*

"This is one of the most interesting works which has come under our notice for a long time. It is the genuine record of the inner and outer life of a genuine working man. * * * There are few writings in our language, which, for power of graphic description, surpass the letters by him under the signature of 'One who has Whistled at the Plough;' and in his autobiography we find the same facility of description, &c."—*Leeds Times.*

Fourth edition, 32mo., cloth, price 1s.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

By ARCHIBALD PRENTICE.

A Tour in the United States, with two Lectures on Emigration, delivered in the Mechanics' Institution, Manchester.

Charles Gilpin's Readings for Railways. Edited by Popular Authors.

The Publiſher has, in common with a large proportion of thoſe whoſe engagements neceſſitate conſiderable travel by railway, much regretted that the claſs of literature generally to be met with at the various ſtations, ſo far from being calculated to improve and to inſtruct, is moſtly compoſed of Novels and Romances of at leaſt very queſtionable tendency. Some of theſe, taken from the French ſchool of noveliſts, are ſuch as no prudent or careful parent would permit to be placed in the hands of a ſon or daughter. The Publiſher believes that it is perfectly poſſible to ſecure a claſs of reading, which, while not inferior in intereſt to thoſe books which now almoſt monopolize the ſtation tables, ſhall yet poſſeſs a decidedly moral tone and inſtructive tendency; and ſeeing the amount of time ſpent in travelling, an amount which it is probable will yet greatly increaſe, he has determined to make the attempt to introduce ſuch literature for railways as may be approved by the great maſs of the reading public. To carry out theſe views, he has made arrangements with able and popular writers, and has already publiſhed volume the firſt of the ſeries, edited by LEIGH HUNT.

The volumes, price One Shilling each, will be publiſhed in a neat form, and in clear readable type, and may be obtained at the various Railway Stations in the United Kingdom.

Readings for Railways; or, Anecdotes and other Short Stories, Reflections, Maxims, Characteriſtics, Paſſages of Wit, Humour, and Poetry, &c.; together with Points of Information on Matters of General Intereſt, collected in the courſe of his own reading. By LEIGH HUNT. Royal 18mo., price 1s.

"Leigh Hunt's name would beautify any production, even trivial in itſelf, with the glory of his early fame. The book will prove a valuable antidote to railway wearineſs to whomſoever will take it in hand, as his railway companion."—*Morning Chronicle.*

*** The ſecond volume is now ready. Edited by J. B. SYME.

Juvenile Depravity. The Prize Essay on Juvenile Depravity. By the Rev. H. Worsley, A.M., Easton Rectory, Suffolk. To this Essay on Juvenile Depravity, as connected with the causes and practices of Intemperance, and the effectual barrier opposed by them to education, the above Prize of 100*l.* was awarded by the Adjudicators, Dr. Harris of Cheshunt; the Rev. James Sherman, Surrey Chapel; and Dr. Vaughan of Harrow. Post 8vo., price 5*s.*

"We earnestly commend this very able Essay to the early attention of those whose philanthropy leads them to seek a remedy for the fearful amount of juvenile depravity which now gangrenes society, and will prove fatal if not checked and removed. The author admirably uses his statistics, and shows an intimate knowledge of human nature, in its multifarious circumstances."—*Christian Examiner*, April, 1849.

"It is impossible to read many sentences of this volume without perceiving that you are in the company of a Christian philanthropist—a man who is bent, as far as in him lies, on the removal of a great national evil; and who has sufficient patience and courage to investigate the sources of that evil, to examine with candour the various remedies proposed for its removal, and to point out with honesty that which he believes to be the only appropriate and effectual remedy."—*Teetotal Times*, April, 1849.

"Mr. Worsley's is unquestionably a very able treatise."—*Patriot*, April, 1849.

The Rhyming Game; a Historiette. 16mo., sewed, price 6d.

This little book is designed as a winter evening recreation for young persons. Its object is, that of calling up their ideas into ready exercise, and habituating the mind to a prompt and accurate description of objects, as well as a more subtle delineation of thoughts and feelings; and it has particularly in view the monition that, even in their recreations, they may remember "l'utile," as well as "l'agréable."

Juvenile Depravity. An Inquiry into the Extent and Cauſes of Juvenile Depravity. Dedicated, by ſpecial permiſſion, to the Right Hon. the Earl of Carliſle. By THOMAS BEGGS, late Secretary of the Health of Towns' Aſſociation, and author of "Lectures on the Moral Elevation of the People." 8vo., price 5s.

"Few men were better qualified to deal with ſuch a caſe than Mr. Beggs, whoſe lot it has been largely to be mixed up with the working claſſes, and who has made their characters, habits, and circumſtances, the ſubject of his ſpecial ſtudy. He is, moreover, a man of ſtrong penetrating intellect, and poſſeſſes in a high degree whatever is needful to conſtitute a ſtudent of human nature. Let all read Mr. Begg's volume. A heart brought very largely into ſympathy with the ſubject could ſcarcely read a chapter of it without tears. Its revelations are thoſe of the darkeſt chambers of ſpiritual death and moral deſolation. The work has our cordial commendation. It is one of the claſs of books which cannot be too widely circulated."—*Britiſh Banner*, Auguſt 25, 1849.

"Mr. Beggs writes with all the confidence which a practical knowledge of the ſubject has given him, and it is impoſſible to peruſe the pages of his work without obtaining a fearful inſight into the extent of the moral depravity of the lower orders of ſociety. In the paths of vice in which his reverend competitor fears to tread, there Mr. Beggs boldly ſteps forward, and denounces while he expoſes thoſe gigantic and appalling evils, which muſt be brought to light before they can be effectually grappled with and overcome."—*Journal of Public Health*, July, 1849.

"Whether we regard the graphic picture of the actual condition of the neglected claſſes, or the important collection of original and ſelected ſtatiſtics which this volume contains, we muſt pronounce it to be one of the moſt truſtworthy expoſitions of our ſocial ſtate and evils which has yet been produced."—*Truth Seeker*, July, 1849.

The Romiſh Church. The Doctrines of the Romiſh Church, as exhibited in the NOTES of the DOUAY BIBLE: arranged under ſeparate heads. By SAMUEL CAPPER. 8vo., price 12s.

"Mr. Capper's book may be regarded as a monument of diligence, of fairneſs, and of Chriſtian benevolence; and it will find its way, we doubt not, into the library of every man who wiſhes to be informed on what muſt, after all, be one of the great controverſies, if not the great controverſy, of the times upon which the Church of CHRIST is entering."—*The Patriot.*

"The work is not only prepared with perfect integrity, but is curious and worthy of place in all libraries, and eſpecially of miniſters who may have occaſion to deal with theſe matters in purſuance of their duties."—*Standard of Freedom.*

"It is a moſt valuable contribution to the aids and appliances of that ſpecies of religious controverſy which contends *for truth and not for victory*, and uſes the weapons of reaſon and charity, not of acrimonious debate and reviling."—*Morning Poſt.*

"This is a valuable publication of the Notes of the quarto edition of the Douay Bible, claſſified under various heads, ſo as to afford an eaſy and ready reference on the leading points of doctrine. The notes are taken from the editions of 1633, 1635, and 1816, and are the reſult of many years' labours: and the book brings into one's reach an important portion of controverſial matter, which may be uſed with effect in our antagoniſm with the errors of the Church of Rome."—*Dublin Chriſtian Examiner.*

Portraits in Miniature, or Sketches of Character in Verſe. By HENRIETTA J. FRY, Author of the "Hymns of the Reformation," &c. Illuſtrated with Eight Engravings, 8vo., price 10s. 6d.

This little volume holds many a name dear to the beſt intereſts of ſociety, like thoſe of Elizabeth Fry, J. J. Gurney, W. Wilberforce, Hannah More, Biſhop Heber, &c.

Fifty Days on Board a Slave Veſſel. By the Rev. PASCOE GRENFELL HILL, M.A., Chaplain of H.M.S. Cleopatra. Demy 12mo., cloth lettered, price 1s. 6d.

"This curious and ſuccinct narrative gives the experience of a ſhort voyage on board one of the ſlave ſhips. We ſhall be rejoiced, if the publicity given to this little but intelligent work by our means, aſſiſt in drawing the attention of the influential claſſes to the ſubject."—*Blackwood's Magazine.*

"We hope this little work will have a wide circulation. We can conceive nothing ſo likely to do good to the righteous cauſe it is intended to promote."—*Examiner.*

The Fugitive Blackſmith, or, Events in the Hiſtory of JAMES W. C. PENNINGTON, Paſtor of a Preſbyterian Church, New York. Fcap. 8vo., ſewed. The ſixth thouſand, price 1s.

"This entrancing narrative * * * We truſt that thouſands of our readers will procure the volume, which is publiſhed by Mr. Gilpin at a mere trifle—much too cheap to accompliſh the purpoſe for which, in part or mainly, it has been publiſhed—the raiſing a fund to remove the pecuniary burdens which preſs on the author's flock. NOTHING SHORT OF THE SALE OF FIFTY THOUSAND OR SIXTY THOUSAND COPIES could be at all availing for this object. * * * We very cordially recommend him and his narrative to the kind conſideration of our readers."—*Chriſtian Witneſs.*

Cards of Character: a Biographical Game. In a neat caſe, price 5s.

"This Game, which is prepared by a young Friend, contains much amuſement and inſtruction. It conſiſts of brief ſketches of the lives and characters of about ſeventy of the principal perſons of the paſt age, and queſtions correſponding in number with the Cards. The game is well arranged and very ſimple."

The Campaner Thal: or, Discourses on the Immortality of the Soul. By JEAN PAUL FR. RICHTER. Translated from the German by JULIETTE BAUER. Foolscap 8vo., price 2s. 6d.

"—— Report, we regret to say, is all that we know of the 'Campaner Thal,' one of Richter's beloved topics, or rather the life of his whole philosophy, glimpses of which look forth on us from almost every one of his writings. He died while engaged, under recent and almost total blindness, in enlarging and remodelling this 'Campaner Thal.' The unfinished manuscript was borne upon his coffin to the burial vault; and Klopstock's hymn, 'Auferstehen wirst du!' 'Thou shalt arise, my soul,' can seldom have been sung with more appropriate application than over the grave of Jean Paul." —*Carlyle's Miscellanies.*

The Friendly and Feejee Islands; A Missionary Visit to various Stations in the South Seas, in the year 1847. By the REV. WALTER LAWRY. With an Appendix, containing notices of the political constitution, population, productions, manners, customs, and mythology of the people, and of the state of religion among them. Edited by the REV. ELIJAH HOOLE. 12mo., cloth, price 4s. 6d.

"Some of its details of Cannibalism and Feejeeism are very terrible: and that such anthropophagi should have been recovered to a common human nature with ourselves, and to the higher hopes of the Christian life, is a testimony to revelation which the sceptic may well ponder."—*Nonconformist.*

"That portion of the narrative relating to the Feejee Islands is especially worthy of perusal, displaying as it does the frightful characteristics of a society in which habitual and ferocious cannibalism maintained its ground, and its gradual transition to a more hopeful and satisfactory condition, in which the 'influence of the press' is already becoming a power for good."—*Morning Advertiser.*

A Kiſs for a Blow. A Collection of Stories for Children, ſhowing them how to prevent quarrelling. By H. C. WRIGHT. Twenty-fifth thouſand. 18mo., price 1s.

"Of this little book it is impoſſible to ſpeak too highly—it is the reflex of the ſpirit of childhood, full of tenderneſs, pity, and love: quick to reſent, and equally quick to forgive. We wiſh that all children could imbibe its ſpirit, then indeed would the world be happier and better."—*Mary Howitt.*

"This volume, of which it were to be wiſhed that every family in the country had a copy, has been reprinted in London by Charles Gilpin; it is an invaluable little book."—*Chambers's Tracts.*

Skyrack; a Fairy Tale. With Six Illuſtrations. Poſt 8vo., cloth extra, price 2s. 6d.

"It is ſimply the ſtory of an old oak; but it carries you away to the foreſt, and refreſhes you with its dewy, ſunny, ſolitary life. The ſpirit of the book is pure as the breezes of the foreſt themſelves. All the imagery, and the whole tone of the ſtory are of that kind which you wiſh to pervade the mind of your children. In a word, we have rarely enjoyed a more delicious hour, or have been more thoroughly wrapt in ſweet, ſilent, dewy, and balmy foreſt entrancement, than during the peruſal of Skyrack."—*Standard of Freedom.*

Narrative of William W. Brown, an American Slave. Written by Himſelf. THE ELEVENTH THOUSAND. Fcap. 8vo., price 1s. 6d.

"We would that a copy of this book could be placed in every ſchool library in Maſſachuſetts. We hope and believe that it will be widely circulated."—*Boſton Whig.*

"It is an intereſting narrative, and ſhould be read by every perſon in the country. We commend it to the public, and venture the aſſertion, that no one who takes it up and reads a chapter, will lay it down until he has finiſhed it."—*New Bedford Bulletin.*

"We have read Mr. Brown's Narrative, and found it a thrilling tale."—*Laurence Courier.*

Sparks from the Anvil. By ELIHU BURRITT. 12mo., ſewed. The thirteenth thouſand, price 1s.

"Theſe are ſparks indeed of ſingular brilliancy."—*Britiſh Friend.*

"They deſerve to be ſtereotyped, and to form part of the ſtandard literature of the age."—*Kentiſh Independent.*

"We ſay to all, read it, imbibe its ſpirit, and learn like the writer, to work for and with GOD, towards the regeneration of your race."—*Nottingham Review.*

"Reader, if you have not read the 'Sparks from the Anvil,' do ſo at once."—*The Echo.*

A Voice from the Forge. By ELIHU BURRITT, with a Portrait. Being a ſequel to "Sparks from the Anvil." Seventh thouſand. 12mo., ſewed, price 1s.

"In every line coined from the reflecting mind of the Blackſmith of Maſſachuſetts, there is a high philoſophy and philanthropy genuine and pure. His ſympathies are univerſal, his aſpirations are for the happineſs of all, and his writings are nervous, terſe, and vigorous."—*London Telegraph.*

"The influence of the ſmall work before us muſt be for good, and we wiſh it every ſucceſs. The various eſſays it contains are written with natural eloquence, and contain many juſt and original ſentiments."—*Scottiſh Preſs.*

The Paſtor's Legacy; or, Devotional Fragments. From the German of Lavater. By HENRIETTA J. FRY. 18mo., ſilk, price 2s. 6d.

"This is an exquiſite little gem."—*Chriſtian Examiner.*

*** An edition may be obtained with the German appended to the work, done up in the ſame manner, for 3s.

THE PHŒNIX LIBRARY.

The following Series of Original and Reprinted Works, bearin on the Renovation and Progreſs of Society in Religion Morality, and Science, is now in courſe of publication, printe uniformly, price 2s. 6d. each volume:

Utopia; or, the Happy Republic. A Philoſoph cal Romance. By Sir Thomas More.

Letters on Early Education. By Peſtalozz With a Memoir of Peſtalozzi.

Effects of Civilization on the People in Europea States. By Charles Hall, M.D.

The Chriſtian Commonwealth. By John Minté Morgan. To which is added, An Inquiry respectin Private Property, from a Periodical of 1827.

Letters to a Clergyman, on Inſtitutions for Ame liorating the Condition of the People, chiefly from Paris in the Autumn of 1845. By the ſame Author.

A Tour through Switzerland and Italy, in the yea 1846-47. By the ſame Author.

Colloquies on Religion and Religious Education By the ſame Author.

Tracts. By the ſame Author.

The Revolt of the Bees. By the ſame Author.

The Adventures of Signor Gaudentio Di Lucca Attributed to Bishop Berkeley.

Eſſay on St. Paul. By Hannah More. 2 vols.

Uniform with the above, price 3s. 6d.

Extracts for Schools and Families, in aid of Mora and Religious Training.

The Prize Essay, on the Use and Abuse of Alcoholic Liquors in health and disease. By W. B. CARPENTER, M.D., F.R.S. Dedicated by permission to H. R. H. Prince Albert. A Prize of One Hundred Guineas having been offered for the best Essay on the above subject, that sum has just been awarded to Dr. CARPENTER, by the Adjudicators, Dr. JOHN FORBES, Dr. G. L. ROUPELL, and Dr. W. A. GUY. Post 8vo., price 5s.

> "We have now to congratulate the donor and the public on having obtained an Essay from one of the most eminent physiologists."—*Nonconformist.*
>
> "It must be no small source of gratification to them (the teetotallers) that the important publication to which we have been calling the attention of our readers (the above Essay) should find its way to the royal palace, and that the enlightened Prince, so distinguished for his earnestness in promoting the best interests of his adopted country, should sanction the dedication of the work to himself, and thus confer an honour alike deserved by the author and his cause."—*Bristol Mercury.*

William Penn and T. B. Macaulay; being brief observations on the charges made in Mr. Macaulay's "History of England," against the character of William Penn. By W. E. FORSTER. 8vo., sewed, price 1s.

Rogerson's Poems. The Poetical Works of JOHN BOLTON ROGERSON, author of "Rhyme, Romance, and Revery, &c."

> "His sterling talents are alike a credit to himself and the land of his birth, and we doubt not will shortly win for him a foremost rank among English Poets."—*County Herald.*

Dymond's Eſſays on the Principles of Morality, and on the Private and Political Rights and Obligations of Mankind. Royal 8vo., paper cover, price 3s. 6d. Neat embоſſed cloth, 4s. 6d.

> "The high ſtandard of morality to which theſe Eſſays aim at directing the attention of mankind, juſtly entitle them to the extenſive circulation which they have obtained in three previous editions; and the preſent cheap and popular form in which they now appear, having reached a ſale of nearly ſeven thouſand in twelve months, is an unequivocal proof of public approbation."

Hymns of the Reformation. By LUTHER and others. From the German; to which is added his Life from the original Latin of Melancthon, by the Author of "The Paſtor's Legacy." 18mo., cloth, price 2s. 6d.; and neatly bound in ſilk, price 3s. 6d.

An Encyclopædia of Facts, Anecdotes, Arguments, and Illuſtrations from Hiſtory, Philoſophy, and Chriſtianity, in ſupport of the principles of Permanent and Univerſal Peace. By EDWIN PAXTON HOOD, Author of "Fragments of Thought and Compoſition," &c. 18mo., ſewed, price 1s. 6d.

The Art of Memory. The new Mnemonic Chart and Guide to the Art of Memory. Neatly Illuſtrated with upwards of 200 Woodcuts, &c. Cloth, price 2s. 6d.

A Selection of Scripture Poetry. By LOVELL SQUIRE. Third Edition, containing many Original Hymns not hitherto publiſhed. 18mo., cloth, price 2s. 6d. The ſame to be had nicely bound in ſilk, with gilt edges, 4s.

Poetical Sketches of Scripture Characters.—Abraham to Job. By MARTHA YARDLEY. Sewed, price 6d.

A Selection from the Writings of JOHN SYDNEY TAYLOR, A.M., Barrister-at-Law. 8vo., cloth, price 12s.

"On this rock we stand—on the adamantine basis of Christian principle we would build the whole fabric of legislation which regards the public morals."—(p. 213.)

"The volume before us is a noble testimony to the worth of the deceased writer."—*Yorkshireman.*

An Interesting Memoir of Three Brothers, (G., L., and S. Peirson) who died of Consumption. 18mo., sewed, price 4d.

The Wells of Scripture. By HENRIETTA J. FRY. Crown 8vo., cloth, price 2s.

"This little work is unpretending in its character; but dwelling as it does on themes of hallowed interest, we can, with satisfaction, recommend it to our readers."

Three Lectures on the Moral Elevation of the People. By THOMAS BEGGS. Price 1s.

"The working classes ought to read them, that they may learn how much power resides in themselves; the middle classes should read them, and learn that wealth confers increased responsibility on its possessor; and even our nobles should read them, that they may learn that the downfal of *false*, and the reign of *true* nobility are alike at hand."—*Nottingham Review.*

"The Lectures are full of large and comprehensive views of man, and the writer aims in every respect to promote his moral elevation."—*Universe.*

Defensive War, proved to be a Denial of Christianity and of the Government of GOD. With illustrative facts and anecdotes. By HENRY C. WRIGHT. 12mo., cloth, price 2s.

The Boy's Own Book. Intended as a Preſent for Children on leaving School. 18mo., ſtiff covers, price 6d.

The Young Servant's Book. Intended as a Preſent for Girls on firſt going to Service. 18mo., ſtiff covers, price 4d.

Waterloo Series. In Seven Numbers, ſewed, price 6d. complete. Edited by ELIHU BURRITT.

No. 1. Voice from Waterloo.—The Silver Tankard.
No. 2. Hannibal; or, the Story of a Waſted Life.—The Bower on the Hill.
No. 3. The Story of the Beautiful Book.
No. 4. The Story of Oberlin.
No. 5. The Man that Killed his Neighbours.
No. 6. Soldiers and Citizens.
No. 7. Story of Frank.

William Allen: his Life and Correſpondence. 3 vols. 8vo., price 24s.

"The holieſt and loweliеſt of Friends."—*Dr. Campbell.*

The Sunday School Teacher. Deſigned to aid in elevating and perfecting the Sabbath School Syſtem. By the Rev. I. TODD. 12mo., cloth, price 2s. 6d.

"Every Sabbath School Teacher ſhould regard it as a privilege to purchaſe and carefully read the work."—*Philadelphic Obſerver.*

An Argument, drawn from Scripture, to prove that the Miniſtry of the Goſpel ought to be entirely Gratuitous. By the late THOMAS WEMEYS. 3rd edition, 12mo., ſewed, price 4d.

Gleanings for Children; or, Eaſy Stories carefully ſelected for Young Children. 18mo., ſewed, price 6d.

A Voyage to the Slave Coasts of West and East Africa. By the Rev. PASCOE GRENFELL HILL, R.N., Author of "Fifty Days on Board a Slave Vessel." 12mo., cloth lettered, price 1s.

"This brief but interesting narrative proceeds from one who has witnessed the horrors of the Slave-trade, as carried on in various parts of the globe. * * * * The unpretending style in which the narrative is written, and the stamp of truth which it carries with it, induce us to recommend it to an extensive perusal."—*Standard of Freedom.*

The Norwegian Sailor: a Sketch of the Life of GEORGE NOSCOE. Written by himself. With an introductory note, by Dr. RAFFLES. Fifth edition, with an account of his death. Foolscap 8vo., cloth, price 2s.

"He (G. Noscoe) was really a remarkable man. I would earnestly recommend it to every sailor."—*Dr. Raffles.*

Speeches of Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., on Peace, Financial Reform, Colonial Reform, and other subjects, delivered during 1849. Foolscap 8vo., 3s. 6d. cloth, 2s. 6d. sewed.

A Guide to True Peace; or a Method of at- taining to inward and Spiritual Prayer. Compiled chiefly from the writings of FENELON, LADY GUION, and MICHAEL MOLINOS. 32mo., cloth, price 1s.

Hints on Cultivating the Christian Temper. By the REV. H. A. BOARDMAN, D.D. Reprinted from the American edition, 32mo., cloth, price 6d.

Gallic Gleanings. A Series of Letters, descriptive of two Excursions to the French Metropolis and the Parisian Peace Congress, 1849. Addressed to a Friend in London. By A. NICHOLSON. 18mo., cloth, price 2s. 6d.

Peace Congreſs. Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Peace Congreſs, held in Paris on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of Auguſt, 1849. Compiled from authentic documents. vo., cloth, price 2s. 6d.

Electoral Diſtricts; or, the Apportionment of the Repreſentation of the Country on the baſis of its Population; being an inquiry into the working of the Reform Bill, and into the merits of the repreſentative ſcheme, by which it is propoſed to ſuperſede it. By ALEXANDER MACKAY. 8vo. Sewed, 1s.

Political Equity; or, a Fair Equalization of the National Burdens, compriſed in ſome intermingled and ſcattered thoughts, ſuggeſting an anti-deſtitution policy, a graduated ſyſtem of taxation on real property and income, &c. By THEOPHILUS WILLIAMS. 8vo., ſewed, price 2s.

Reminiſcences of Poland; her Revolutions and her Rights. A brief ſketch of the cauſes of the revolutions, from 1839 to the incorporation of Cracow with the Auſtrian Empire; with a ſhort local deſcription of Cracow, By ISIDORE LIVINSKY, a Poliſh refugee. Foolſcap 8vo., cloth, 2s.; ſewed, 1s. 6d.

Parables; tranſlated from the German of KRUM-MACHER. Containing the Hyacinth; the Perſian, the Jew, and the Chriſtian; Aſaph and Heman; Life and Death; the Mother's Faith, &c. 16mo., ſewed, price 1s.

The Peace Reading Book; being a ſeries of Selec-tions from the Sacred Scriptures, the Early Chriſtian Fathers, and Hiſtorians, Philoſophers and Poets,—the wiſe and thoughtful of all ages; condemnatory of the principles and practice of war, inculcating thoſe of true Chriſtianity. Edited by H. G. ADAMS. 12mo., cloth, price 2s.

Gleanings from Pious Authors. Comprising the Wheatsheaf, Fruits and Flowers, Garden, and Shrubbery. With a brief notice of the former publications of these volumes. By JAMES MONTGOMERY. A new edition. Foolscap 8vo., price 3s.

Hymns and Meditations. By A. L. W. Sewed. gilt edges, 1s. Silk, gilt edges, 2s. 6d.

How Little Henry of Eichenfels came to the Knowledge of GOD.

"It is interesting to observe, that the translation of this little book (from the German) is the effort of young persons who have willingly sacrificed some hours of recreation to aid the cause of humanity.

The Voyage Companion: a Parting Gift to Female Emigrants. By the Author of "A Word on behalf of a Slave," &c. &c. Foolscap 8vo., price 6d.

H.R.H. Prince Albert's Prize. A Plea for the Right against Might, or the Temporal Advantages of the Sabbath to the Labouring Classes. By JOHN COBLEY, Foolscap 8vo., price 6d.

The Soldier's Destiny. A Tale of the Times. The Enlistment.—Leaving Home.—The Deserter.—The Battle.—The Night after the Battle.—The Return. By GEORGE WALLER. Foolscap 8vo., price 1s.

Memoirs of Paul Cuffe, a Man of Colour, Compiled from authentic sources. By WILSON ARMISTED. 18mo., cloth, price 1s.

"The exertions of this truly benevolent individual entitle him to the esteem of the world, and the grateful remembrance of latest posterity."

PORTRAITS.

Elizabeth Fry. A full-length Portrait of Elizab

Fry. Engraved by SAMUEL COUSINS, A.R.A. fro picture by George Richmond.

	l.	*s.*
Artiſts' proof . .	10	10
Proofs with autographs .	7	7
Proofs	4	4
Prints	2	2

Elizabeth Fry: Engraved on Copper By B o

from a painting by Leſlie.

	s.	*d.*
Proofs	15	0
Prints	7	6

Thomas Clarkſon. A very ſplendid Portrait

this diſtinguiſhed philanthropiſt.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
India proofs, firſt claſs .	1	0	0
Second claſs . .		10	6
Prints		5	0

William Allen. Drawn on Stone By D

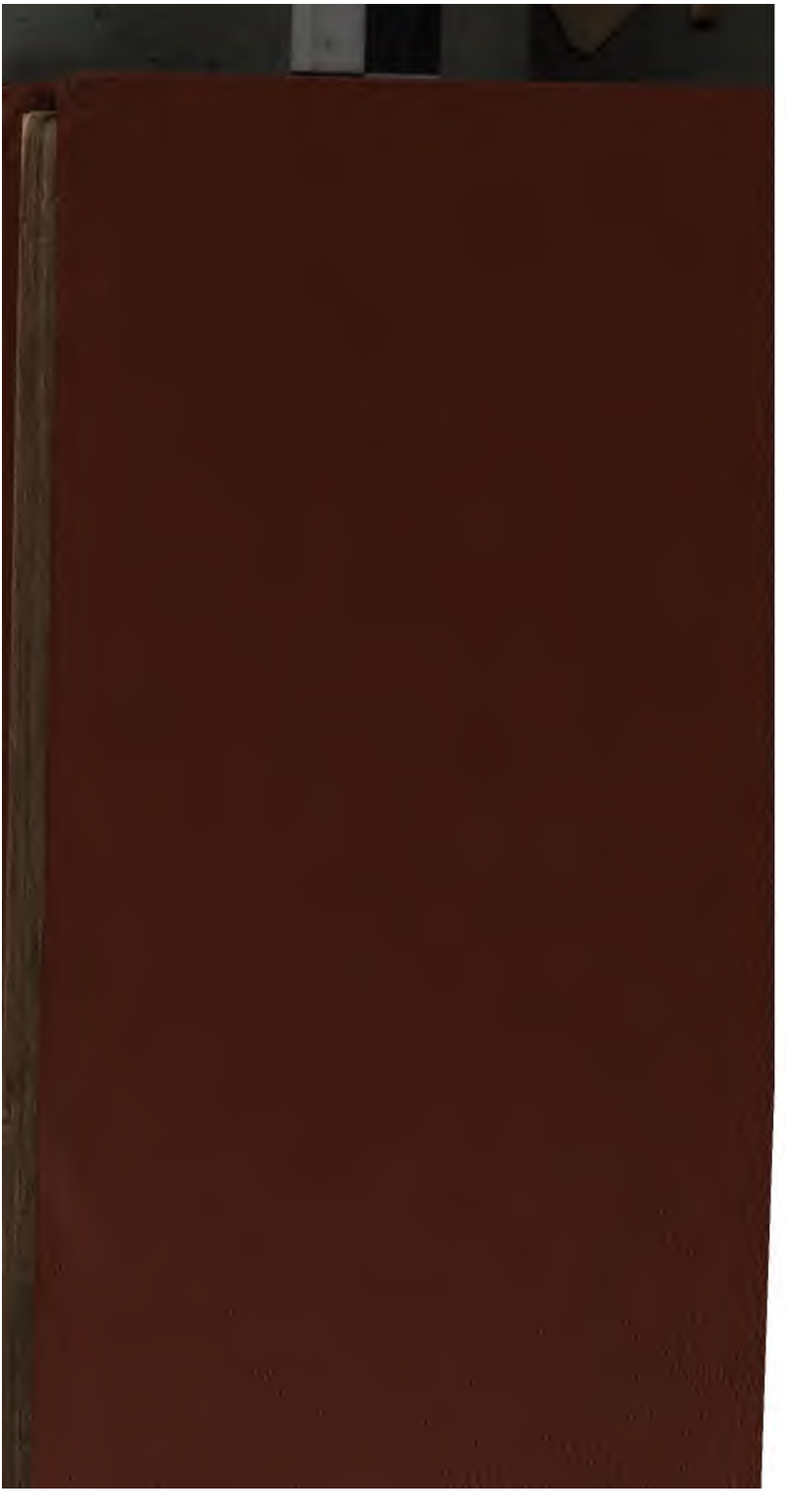
HAGHE, from a painting by Dickſee.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
India proofs, firſt claſs .	1	10	0
Second claſs . .	1	1	0
Prints . . .		10	6

Samuel Gurney. Drawn on Stone by Dickſee

	s.	*d.*
Firſt claſs . . .	10	0
Prints	5	0

CECIL H. GREEN LIBRARY
STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(650) 723-1493
grncirc@sulmail.stanford.edu
All books are subject to recall.

DATE DUE

DEC 15 1999
JAN 17 2000
JAN 17 2000